Wednesday
25th March, 1953

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

OFFICIAL REPORT

PARLIAMENT SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

Price Six Annas (Inland)
Price Two Shillings (Foreign)

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Parliament Library Building
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Dated 21.11.2014

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

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Wednesday, 25th March, 1953

The House met at Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

***966. Shri S. C. Samanta:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state what steps have been taken by the Government of India after the denial of the charges of terrorism, smuggling etc., in the French possessions in India by the French Delegate, M. Pignon, in U.N.O. in November last?

(b) Have facts and figures been given to nullify the denials by M. Pignon?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) No additional steps were considered necessary.

(b) These facts and figures are well-known.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether the draft resolution of the U. N. O. Trusteeship Committee on this discrimination has been approved by the U. N. O. General Council?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: I have no information on the matter.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether any further instances of terrorism and smuggling have reached Government since November last when M. Pignon denied the charges?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: Earlier in the session, I have already placed all relevant facts in our possession before the House.

Shri K. Subrahmanyam: Is it proposed to establish a Customs cordon on the Indo-French border at Yanam?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: There is already a customs cordon.

Dr. Suresh Chandra: May I know whether the Government have received any proposal from the French Government to renew the Customs Union with India?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): There has been a customs cordon but owing to geographical and other circumstances it is not quite easy to prevent smugglers going through. Therefore it has been decided to tighten the cordon. As regards the other question of the hon. Member, in view of other developments, there is no question at the present moment of our having a customs agreement with the French Government.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether any legislative measures have been taken or promulgated by the French Settlements not to discriminate against Indians?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: There is no information, Sir.

OIL REFINERY

***967. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state when the oil refinery to be set up by the Standard Vacuum Oil Company at Trombay Island near Bombay will go into production?

(b) What is the refinery's projected capacity of refining crude oil?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) The refinery is expected to go into production in January 1955, provided the ancillary facilities, and especially the marine facilities, can be completed by then.

(b) Approximately 1·3 million long tons of crude oil per annum.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the estimated approximate yield of refined petroleum from this factory?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I am sorry I can not give the figure off-hand.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether the Government has estimated as to what percentage of our total requirements of petroleum products would be met by this factory?

Shri K. C. Reddy: The hon. Member may be aware that along with this factory the Burma Oil Shell Refinery is expected to go into production. There is also a proposal to set up another refinery on the East Coast and when all these projects are completed, we will be very near meeting our full requirements of oil.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether all these three factories are going to be opened on the same terms and conditions?

Shri K. C. Reddy: With regard to the Standard Vacuum Oil Company and the other factory, the main provisions have been already made available to the hon. Members of the House. As regards Caltex, negotiations are proceeding and we have not finalized any agreement with them.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether Government have taken any steps to see that the products of this refinery are sold in India at rates cheaper than the very prohibitory rates now prevailing?

Shri K. C. Reddy: It will be about the same price at which it is now being sold in India, after these refineries are established. But it is too early to say now the exact rates.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether the amount of percentage of investment of Indian capitalists would be the same in all these three factories?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Specific agreements have been entered into with regard to them and Government is taking care to see that these agreements are duly fulfilled and implemented.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: In view of the fact that the price prevailling now are much higher than those in Australia, is it still proposed that the new rates will be the same as they are now, and that it will be nowhere near the Australian prices even?

Shri K. C. Reddy: The rates will have to be worked out later, but according to present expectations the rate will be about the same as is prevailing now in India.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether arrangements have been or will be made for the training of Indian Nationals in this complicated refinery system?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Yes; certainly that is one of the clauses of the agreement with the companies and every care is being taken to see that Indian personnel are appointed and trained by these companies.

BAMBOO REINFORCED CONCRETE

***968. Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) whether experiments being carried on in the direction of the use of bamboo re-inforcing concrete have borne any fruit so far;

(b) if so, what is the result of the work done so far;

(c) in what parts of India and under whom are these experiments being carried;

(d) whether bamboo-reinforced concrete has been used in any building or other construction; and

(e) if so, for how long it has been used in the construction, and with what results?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) Experiments on the use of bamboo reinforced concrete have been undertaken at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. It will be some time before final conclusions can be drawn.

(b) It is yet premature to say one way or the other.

(c) The experiments are being carried out at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. Some tests were also carried out by the Railways at Bombay on behalf of the Forest Research Institute

(d) Bamboo reinforced concrete was used for roofing slabs in some of the temporary hutments at New Delhi.

(e) Bamboo reinforced concrete was used by the Central Public Works Departmental as an experimental measure for concrete slabs during the war. Now, after 8 to 10 years' use, many slabs have given way and have fallen down.

श्री एम० एल द्विवेदी : क्या में पूछ सकता हूं कि इस बैम्बू कांक्रीट की तरक्की के लिए सरकार ने कोई रकम मन्जूर की है और इस सम्बंध में क्या कॅन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा कोई अनुमन्धान चल रहे हैं ?

Shri Buragohain: As I said, Sir, the experiments have been carried on in two places, at Dehra Dun and also by the Railways at Bombay on behalf of the Dehra Dun Institute: and recently on the claims made by Dr. Kamesam on this particular type of material certain experiments were also made at his initiative by the National Physical Laboratory, but the results had not been found to be very encouraging.

श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी : क्या दूसरी जगह भी मकानात बनाए गए हैं और नतीजा भी उतना सन्तोषजनक नही है जितना कि देहरादून का ?

Shri Buragohain: Certain claims have been made by Dr. Kamesam with regard to this matter and this was also discussed by the Seminar of the ECAFE last time, Sir, and further tests will have to be undertaken in this matter.

Shri Dhulekar: The hon. Minister stated that the Bamboo reinforced concrete roof had fallen. May I know whether the bamboos had fallen or were any repairs carried out? What was the cause? Was there any investigation?

Shri Buragohain: The bamboo concrete was used as an experimental measure and for reasons of economy. These hutments were programmed to last for only three years.

BORDER DISPUTE

*969. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Financial Commissioners of the two Punjabs met in Lahore on the 21st January, 1953, for making a fresh attempt to solve the boundary disputes on the western border; and

(b) whether these disputes are localised to one or two places or are spread over a long area?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) Yes.

(b) Disputes have arisen at various places along the border.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether the officers meet as and when any dispute arises or is there any permanent body to settle them as they arise?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: The Two Financial Commissioners meet from time to time. The last time they met was on the 21st of January and they were to have met yesterday again.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether any proposal to put up permanent boundary marks on that border has ever been considered?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: After the boundary has been properly demarcated, of course the marks will be put up.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Recently there were reports about the killing of a soldier of India at this border. May I know whether that has been investigated? Was he on our side of the boundary or on the Pakistan side of the boundary?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: I would like to have notice of the question, Sir.

SCRAP IRON (EXPORT)

*970. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether Government propose revising their policy of allowing exports of scrap from India?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): Yes, Sir, the matter is under the consideration of Government.

I should like to add that pending finalisation of a revised policy in this regard, no fresh export licences are being issued now.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What was the total quantity of scrap exported?

Shri Karmarkar: During 1952-53, from April to December, 1952, it was 314,255 tons.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether there were a good number of complaints that under the cover of scrap iron, useful iron was exported and whether action was taken against exporters?

Shri Karmarkar: We have been trying to see whether we should not curtail exports to a greater extent. There have been a few complaints.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether arrangements to use scrap iron have been made?

Shri Karmarkar: We have recently permitted some six concerns in this regard and as a long-term measure proposals are under consideration to set up electric furnaces in the Bhakra-Nangal and Hirakud sites where cheap electric power will become available as soon as the two hyro-electric projects materialise.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Till this, exports would be allowed?

Shri Karmarkar: Yes, to the extent considered desirable.

Shri Nanadas: May I know whether any description has been fixed for this scrap iron, I mean to say, the length and breadth of the piece?

Shri Karmarkar: I did not follow it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Whether any description has been prescribed for the scrap?

Shri Karmarkar: The description of scrap iron is what is iron scrap. That is being processed by competent officers.

Shri Raghavaiah: May I know whether this export of scrap iron is on the increase or on the decrease for the last five years?

Shri Karmarkar: It was 314.255 tons last year as against 46,055 in 1951-52 and it was 31,688 in the previous year.

Shri G. P. Sinha: Do Government propose to do anything regarding the Japanese steel manufacturer who has come to this country and making large purchase of scrap iron and iron ores.

Shri Karmarkar: No, Sir.

Shri Bansal: What is the capacity of existing Indian electric furnaces for the conversion of scrap iron?

Shri Karmarkar: I should like to have notice.

BORDER INCIDENTS

***971. Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will **the Prime Minister** be pleased to state **whether** recently there were any **meetings of** police officials of India and **Pakistan held at Lahore to discuss matters relating to border incidents on the western border?**

(b) If so, what was the number of cases discussed and the number of disputes resolved?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) and (b). None.

PRINTING MATERIALS

***974. Shri L. J. Singh:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the various kinds of printing materials imported into India;

(b) whether Government have considered the desirability of helping printing industries in India so that the required machinery for the industries may be manufactured in India;

(c) if so, the steps Government have taken in this direction; and

(d) whether Government have considered the desirability of putting a check on imports of printed materials such as catalogues, price lists, folders, cartons, labels etc., in order that the *swadeshi* printing industry may progress?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 48.]

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) There are already two firms manfacturing printing machines and Government have recently given sanction to another firm for erection of a factory to manufacture Platen Presses and Cylinder Presses.

(d) It has not been found possible to ban totally the import of such printed material for the time being.

Shri L. J. Singh: May I know whether the Minister has received the proceedings of the conference of representatives of printing industries held sometime in January in Bombay in 1953 and if so, what are the decisions arrived at at the conference?

Shri Karmarkar: Regarding the first part, I do not remember to have received it. The second part does not arise.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: What is the total value of the import of these printing materials every year?

Shri Karmarkar: Its value during 1951-52 was Rs. 1,16,04,805.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: May I know whether Government consider it advisable to adopt the ostrich-like policy of banning imports of printed materials such as catalogues; price lists, etc. to enhance internal printing?

Shri Karmarkar: Where necessary.

Shri L. J. Singh: What are the difficulties to ban imports of catalogues, price lists etc?

Shri Karmarkar: Sometimes it is in the interest of the country to permit imports.

Shri G. P. Sinha: May I know how many indigenous industries are working?

Shri Karmarkar: Two are already in operation and another is permitted.

LOAN FROM INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECT

***975. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** (a) Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to state whether the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has sanctioned a loan recently for the further development of the Damodar Valley Project?

(b) If so, what is the sum now advanced, on what terms and for what purposes?

(c) What is the total aid given till now by the International Bank towards the construction of this Project?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The sum now advanced amounts to 19·5 million dollars. A copy each of the loan agreement between India and the Bank and of the Project agreement between the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Bank, is laid on the Table of the House. [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-22/53.] These documents give the terms and the specific purposes for which the loan has been advanced.

(c) 38 million dollars.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: In this Agreement the loan and interest are free from taxation. If you were to calculate on the prevailing rates of interest, what would have been the interest plus the amount that has already been paid?

Shri Hathi: I have not made that calculation

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: It is stated that the sum advanced amounts to 19:5 million dollars. We are only to buy goods with 19 million dollars. Was there also such statement on the first loan which we got from the USA?

Shri Hathi: We have purchased goods worth about 12 million dollars from the first loan.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know how much we propose to buy this time?

Shri Hathi: I cannot give out the amounts at this time.

Shri Bansal: For what particular project this loan is granted?

Shri Hathi: For Maithon and Panchet hill.

Shri Raghavaiah: This loan has been given to Government for the development of this project. May I know whether it is irrigation aspect or the power aspect?

Shri Hathi: It is for both the projects.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What is the total area that will be irrigated under this scheme and what will be the cost of the canal water? Has that been calculated?

Shri Hathi: The irrigation area will be about 10,00,000 acres but I am not sure of the figure. I can give it to you later on. The cost is not calculated.

VISIT OF EXPERT MISSION OF UNITED NATIONS

***976. Shri Nanadas:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any Expert Mission of the United Nations has recently visited India to survey the Community Projects Centres;

(b) what was the personnel of the Mission and whether it had been invited by the Government of India; and

(c) whether the Mission has made any report to the United Nations?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Mission consisted of:—

1. Professor Horace Belshaw.
2. Dr. John B. Grant, and
3. Mr. H. C. Chang.

The Mission was sent by the United Nations with the consent of the Government of India.

(c) At present there is no information on the subject.

Shri Nanadas: May I know when the report of this Mission will be made available to Government?

Shri Hathi: The Mission has not yet submitted its report. It will be considered when the Mission submits its report officially.

Shri K. C. Sodhia: What is the object of this Mission?

Shri Hathi: The object of this Mission was to tour round India and other Asian countries and to see how far the community development organizations could be helped further.

Shri Damodara Menon: May I know whether this Mission visited India on the invitation of the Government of India?

Shri Hathi: It was with the approval of the Government of India.

Shri Punnoose: Are we to understand that the Mission came and went and the Government of India have no idea about their interest or reactions?

Shri Hathi: It is not a question of the Government of India having any impression. They have not yet submitted their report.

Shri Raghavaiah: Will the Government make available to all the Members of this House copies of the Report of the Commission if and when it is submitted?

Shri Hathi: That is what I have stated already.

IRREGULAR USE OF GOVERNMENT CAR BY AN OFFICER

***977. Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any thorough investigation has been made by Government in the case of the officer who placed at his disposal cars from the United Kingdom Government pool of cars *vide* para 23(c) of the Audit Report 1950;

(b) the reasons for waiving further recoveries after only £130 had been recovered out of a sum of £467 as was recommended by the High Commissioner;

(c) whether there are any more charges levelled against the officer; and

(d) what are the steps taken, if any, upon the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee *vide* Serial No. 16, page 324 of the First Report—1951-52 of the Public Accounts Committee?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) to (d). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 49.]

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know if the order for the recovery of £467 was made without examining the matters fully?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachri: No. No order can be made without examining the matters fully. I might add that £467 was arrived at on an *ad hoc* basis: on the basis of charges incurred for conveyance during holidays. It was not a matter which was decided after investigation into all the details of journeys made. This was the basis on which £467 was allocated.

Shri S. N. Das: May I know whether the High Commissioner of India was authorised to look into this arrangement of taking cars from the UK car pool or whether that matter was brought before him after the officer had used the car for more than two years?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The position is rather complex. The High Commissioner for India under whom this officer was working, had written to the Government of India asking for sanction for the purchase of a car because the transport position in Paris where this officer was working was extremely acute. It took a long time for the Government of India to take a decision, nearly two years, and they finally said that a car could not be sanctioned. In the meantime, the officer was making use of cars from the pool of the British Embassy. That is how the debit arose in this connection.

Shri S. N. Das: May I know whether it is a fact that the officer was using the cars even after sanction was not granted to him?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: As I said, the matter goes into about 6 or 7 years. I am not able to say very definitely. I see no evidence that the officer has disobeyed instructions in this matter so far as this file is concerned into which I have gone fairly closely.

Shri T. N. Singh: Do the Government question the figure £467 as an overestimate or an under-estimate or do they accept this figure as a working basis in view of the fact that this has been audited and is the verdict of the auditors?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: In arriving at an estimate of what journey could have been for private purposes and what could have been for use in connection with a man's official business, the estimate must necessarily be on the *ad hoc* basis. As I said, the person who fixed the amount as £ 467, which should be debited to the account of this officer, did it on the basis of the travels performed by this officer during holidays. So, it may be a good basis; it may not be. Subsequently, when the matter was reviewed again by the Government of India, it was shown that an officer who is attached to an Embassy has to travel on official business even on holidays. It is not a matter of using a conveyance merely for going to office. Therefore it was felt that the basis on which the apportionment was made, however reasonable it might have sounded at that time, might work to the detriment of the officer's interests.

Shri T. N. Singh: Is it a fact that there were certain charges against this same officer in connection with his work in another Embassy?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I do not know. But, I can say that certain charges were made against this officer in respect of his working, in the way in which accounts were maintained. The matter has been gone into. We found that there was no misfeasance.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : इस आफ़िसर ने कितनी गाड़ियां ली थीं ?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I think the hon. Member knows English. He can ask the question in English.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: The hon. Minister must understand Hindi also.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is all right. The hon. Member may speak in English.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I would like to know how many cars were taken by that officer.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: There is no question of his getting many cars. He had no car at all. It was recommended that he should be allowed to purchase a car. In the mean time, he was making use of the pool of the British Embassy. The British Embassy were debiting us with the cost of the use of cars. It may be the use of one car today, another car tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Next question.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: 978.

The Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri Buragohain): There is another question, No. 986 which is on the same subject.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Both of them may be answered together.

INDIA STORES DEPARTMENT AND INDIA SUPPLY MISSION

***978. Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** (a) Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state what are the recommendations of the two Small Expert Committees appointed in November, 1952 to suggest ways and means to improve the machinery of the India Stores Department in London and the India Supply Mission in Washington, if they have completed their work?

(b) What are the steps taken by Government to implement the recommendations, part of them or any of them?

(c) What are the terms of reference of the new Committee appointed in this connection and when is it likely to conclude its work?

The Deputy Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) The main recommendations cover—

(i) the improvement in the existing methods of preparation of indents by indenting departments and in the handling of such indents by the two overseas Purchasing Organisations with a view to ensure better and more prompt service to indentors;

(ii) Provision of adequate staff for the efficient handling of procurement work; and

(iii) Reorganisation of the staff at niger level by progressive Indianisation consistent with financial considerations in order to improve the standard of efficiency in the two organisations.

(b) These recommendations will amongst other things be considered by the Stores Purchase Committee that has recently been appointed under the Chairmanship of the Deputy Minister.

(c) The terms of reference of the Committee are contained in the resolution published in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary,* dated the 11th March 1953, a copy of which is laid on the Table of the House. [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-23/53.]

The Committee is likely to conclude its work in about 4 months' time.

RE-ORGANISATION OF THE CENTRAL PURCHASE ORGANISATION

***986. Shri Lakshman Singh Charak:** (a) Will the Minister of **Works,**

Housing and Supply be pleased to state whether it is a fact that an Expert Committee to review the policy and working of the Central Purchase Organisation has been set up by the Central Government?

(b) If the reply to part (a) above be in the affirmative, what are the terms of reference of the Committee?

(c) Who are the Members of the Committee and what is the progress of work of the Committee so far?

(d) Has any preliminary report been submitted to Government by the Committee and if so, do Government propose to place their recommendations on the Table of the House?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). A copy of the Resolution of the Government of India, No. P-3(201) published in *Gazette of India Extraordinary,* dated the 11th March 1953, is laid on the Table of the House. [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-24/53.]

(d) The Committee having only recently been appointed no preliminary report could be expected so soon.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: The Gazette of India notification to which reference has been made is before me. I do not find from that whether any reference has been made to the Committee regarding the examination of the previous irregularities which have been committed in this organisation. May I know if anything of this nature is included in this?

Shri Buragohain: This Committee is not set up to go into specific transactions. But, it is to enquire into rules and procedure and other matters concerning the organisation at the various levels and also regarding planning of indents and progressing of indents, and all other connected things. It is more to the future, in view of the increasing tempo of our economic activities, than to the past that the Committee's attention will be directed.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know if the Committees instituted to go into this question have recommended anything in this connection after going into the irregularities, as remedy?

Shri Buragohain: The Committee has, as I said, been set up only recently.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: I refer to the two committees that were set up before.

Shri Buragohain: The Committee has not referred to any specific transaction. It was not also asked to do so in the terms of reference. It merely examined, as I have indicated already, the existing procedure with a view to its future improvement so that any weaknesses could be eliminated and usefulness could be improved.

Shri T. N. Singh: Has this new Committee been appointed merely to implement the recommendations of previous committees or have the recommendations of the previous Committees including those of the Kasturbhai Lalbhai Committee been found inadequate for the purposes?

Shri Buragohain: I do not understand to which committee my hon. friend is referring in the last portion of the question.

Shri T. N. Singh: On the question of Stores, there have been committees both in the Railways Ministry as well as elsewhere. I am referring to the Kasturbhai Lalbhai Committee which went into this question of stores and made certain recommendations regarding the Stores Department organisation itself and suggested an independent organisation. May I know if these recommendations have been found inadequate for our purposes and this new Committee has therefore been appointed?

Shri Buragohain: The Kasturbhai Lalbhai Committee did not examine the Purchase Organisation. What that committee examined was the Central Public Works Department. So far as the two committees which have recently reported—regional committees set up in London and Washington—are concerned, their recommendations will be placed before this Committee only to coordinate the procedure and activities of the three purchasing organisations. The primary task of the Committee that is now set up is to examine the working of the organization in India, *viz.,* the Directorate-General of Supplies and Disposals.

Shri Bansal: I think the hon. Member is referring to the Shroff Report on Stores Purchases, and not to Kasturbhai Lalbhai.

Shri T. N. Singh: May I know whether besides this question of implementation of the previous committees' recommendations and also the stores re-organization, this Committee is going into the question of other stores' organizations run by other Departments of the Government who do this job of stores purchases?

Shri Buragohain: I think nothing can prevent this Committee from going into all these things. It has already taken steps to get itself familiarised with the indenting of stores which is really the concern of the various Ministries, and, in fact, this Committee is so constituted as to include representatives of the various Ministries concerned, including Finance. A representative of the Comptroller and Auditor-General is also included in it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Next question. We have spent enough time over this matter.

OPERATIONAL AGREEMENT

*979. **Shri Ram Dass:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of India have signed any Operational Agreement with the Government of U.S.A. in December, 1952;

(b) if so, what are the terms of the Agreement; and

(c) whether the number of Development Blocks has been increased by this agreement?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). A copy of the Supplement to Operational Agreement No. 8 on Community Development Programme is laid on the Table. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 50.]

Shri Ram Dass: May I know whether the allocation of Development Blocks which was to be made before 31st March, 1953, has been made or not?

Shri Hathi: No. The allotment has not yet been made.

Shri Bansal: Is there any allotment in this for dry farming areas?

Shri Hathi: As I have stated on previous occasions, the recommendations of the State Governments are invited. The allocation will depend on the recommendations of the State Governments.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: May I know under what heads these blocks have been included?

Shri Hathi: I have not followed what the hon. Member means.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I think the hon. Minister need not answer this question. Next question.

ताजमहल बनाने का उद्योग

*९८९. **सेठ अचल सिह :** क्या **वाणिज्य तथा उद्योग** मंत्री यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या सरकार को यह मालम है कि इटली से निर्यात किए जाने वाले अल्बास्टर पत्थर के अमाव में तथा उस कें महंगे होने के कारण आगरे के ताजमहल बनाने के उद्योग की बड़ी बुरी दशा है ; और

(ख) क्या सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में कोई समुचित प्रबन्ध कर रही है ?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) and (b). The Taj Modelling and the Marble Carving Industry were experiencing difficulty for some time but the position has now improved. As a result of investigation and experiment, the soap-stone available in the interior of Almora and Garhwal Districts have been found suitable for Marble-carving and these are being supplied to the Marble-workers of Agra by the U.P. Government. The State has also arranged for the import of 15 tons of Alabaster stone from Italy for the marble workers' Co-operative Society.

सेठ अजल सिह : क्या सरकार को ज्ञात है कि इन ताज माडल से काफी डालर्स आते हैं ?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May be, Sir. I am not in a position to answer the question.

सेठ अचल सिह : क्या सरकार ने इटली से जो पत्थर आता है, उसका एक्सपेरीमेंट कराया है ?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: In this matter, I am entirely guided by the State Governments. Apparently, the U. P. Government considers that this substitute can be used.

Shri Achuthan: May I know the number of families engaged in this industry, roughly?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I would like to have notice.

उत्तर प्रदेश में कोयले का अभाव

***९८१ सेठ अचल सिह :** क्या उत्पादन मंत्री यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या सरकार को यह मालूम है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के कोयले के वैगनों का कोटा सन् १९५२ से आधा कर दिया है जिस के कारण समस्त राज्य में कोयले का अभाव हो गया है ; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो क्या सरकार इस कोटे को पूरा करने का विचार रखती है ?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) The coal quotas of all the States, including Uttar Pradesh were readjusted on the basis of wagon availability. The overall reduction of quota in the case of Uttar Pradesh was about 12 per cent., but this did not cause any coal shortage in the State, the actual despatches of coal to the State being greater in 1952 than in 1951.

(b) Quotas have been re-adjusted on a realistic basis wherever this was found necessary, and further adjustments may be made depending upon requirements and wagon availability.

सेठ अचल सिह : क्या सरकार को मालूम है कि उतर प्रदेश में वैगन्स न मिलने की वजह से काफी कोयले की कमी हो रही है ?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I think I have already answered that question, Sir in the course of my answer. There is shortage of supply of coal almost all over India, and that is mainly accounted for by the fact of shortage in wagon availability.

Shri Raghavaiah: In view of the fact that there is deficiency in coal supply to some of the Provinces in the country, will the Government of India consider the question of not exporting coal to countries like Malaya and South Korea?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not want of coal, but want of wagons. That is what he said.

Shri K. C. Reddy: You have answered that question, Sir.

Shri Meghnad Saha: Is the wagon shortage the result of railway regrouping?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Decidedly not, Sir.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

***982. Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether the components of automobile vehicles are still imported by the firms in India having foreign capital and personnel; and

(b) if not, what percentage is imported and what percentage is manufactured in India (i) out of indigenous steel, and (ii) foreign steel?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Most of these parts are still imported, some spares are manufactured in India.

(b) Precise information is not available.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether any ancillary industry to manufacture the component parts has been started in India?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Yes, Sir. Quite a number of industries are coming into being. There is a factory to manufacture piston rings; factories to manufacture spark plugs; and some of these parts are also manufactured here, like radiators, and a number of other small things. And I can also mention that while these firms are importing by and large most of the parts needed for a motor engine that is being assembled by them, they are buying a lot of spares from various factories in India, and, in fact, I think in one of those concerns, very nearly 500 spare parts are being made in the country.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know, Sir, whether it is the intention of the Government to concentrate on the manufacture of vehicles in a few factories, and encourage other factories to produce component parts?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: This whole question of automobile manufacture is now before the Tariff Commission. We are expecting a report from them in regard to what can be done, what can be manufactured, what kind of protection should be given and how many units should manufacture them and so on. Government's policy can only be decided after receipt of the report of the Tariff Commission and they have made a study of it.

Shri T. N. Singh: When protection was first granted three years ago to this industry, statements were made in this House that within two years, and in certain cases, within three years, almost all the parts will have been manufactured. Now, the hon. Minister says that most of the parts are not being manufactured here. May I know how long does he expect this state of affairs to go on and protection to be given?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I must apologise for having misled the hon. Member. The question has been framed in such a manner that it only relates to firms having foreign capital and personnel. It does not relate to all the manufacturing firms. It is a fact, Sir, that, at any rate, one concern is manufacturing quite a number of parts in the country. They have not merely got a foundry; they have got a forge and machining equipment also. And, well, at the moment, they are manufacturing quite a lot of parts of an engine. Only a few are imported by them. But the question is a very narrow question relating only to those firms with foreign capital and foreign technicians.

Shri Nambiar: May I know, Sir, when India can produce a full automobile by herself without importing any part because...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No "because" is necessary.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: That is more than I can answer.

Shri V. P. Nayar: The hon. Minister told us that some parts are made by these companies in India. Could the hon. Minister give us the names of some of the important parts?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have spent nearly five, six minutes already. Those parts will be laid on the Table......Let us proceed to the next question.

Shri Venkataraman: May I know whether the Government have recognised any of the producers as progressive manufacturers, and if so, who are they?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I would personally like to defer judgment in a matter like this, until I get the report of the Tariff Commission.

Shri Venkataraman: Following out of that, is it a fact that the Government have refused or declined to allow the import of the vehicles in 'C.K.D.' condition, except for those companies which have been recognised as progressive manufacturers?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Our import policy now has got to be very cautious, for the reason that we expect the Tariff Commission to report on this matter. And we do not want a glut of imports in the country at the time when we will consider their report, so that any effective action that we have to take in this regard may not be postponed indefinitely to a period of nine or ten months or perhaps a year. We are rather cautious in regard to the issue of import licenses. We only allow the import licenses for people who have got a manufacturing programme.

Shri Venkataraman: Pending the report of the Tariff Commission, is it a fact that the Government have allowed imports of vehicles in 'C.K.D.' condition, only to one or two companies, and if so, why?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: In regard to people who have got a manufacturing programme, they have licenses pending. Most of them have not used their licenses. There is no question of giving them any more, as the licenses have not been used by them because of a slump in the market. So far as certain other concerns are concerned, in the matter of public service vehicles, Government found that the stocks were so short that for the position to be safeguarded, certain imports have been allowed.

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy: Is there any plant for manufacturing automobile engines in India?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has said so already.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: All the component parts of automobile engines are being manufactured in one plant.

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy: Is there no plant for manufacturing automobile engines?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Are we having a discussion on this subject here? This question relates only to those companies which have foreign capital. We are straying away from them to indigenous capital, and from there to parts of an engine, and then to parts of a wheel. Next question.

SUPPORT OF VILLAGE SCHOOL TEACHERS FOR COMMUNITY PROJECTS

***983. Shri L. J. Singh:** Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Community Project Administration has formulated a scheme which has been circulated to the various State Governments for enlisting the support of village school teachers in the community development programme;

(b) if so, what are the main features of the scheme and

(c) whether there has been any favourable response so far from the States?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes.

(b) A copy of letter No. CPA/P/14/53 dated the 29th January, 1953 s placed on the Table. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 51.]

(c) Yes.

Shri L. J. Singh: May I know whether the teachers will be given some allowance for extra work, and if so, what will be the amount of that allowance?

Shri Hathi: If the hon. member refers to the letter which has been placed on the Table of the House, he will find that it mentions, that extra allowance will be given to them.

Shri Raghavaiah: In view of the fact that there are incidents like a teacher committing suicide in Vizagapatam, and thousands of teachers going on strike in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, will the Government consider it necessary to pay the minimum required salaries for these teachers, besides any allowances given to them, for co-operating in the administration of this project?

Shri Hathi: The question here only refers to the allowance for the extra work that they have to do, and not to the basic salary.

Shri L. J. Singh: May I know the names of the States favouring this proposal?

Shri Hathi: The replies are still awaited.

Shri Punnoose: Has the scheme only been formulated, or has it already begun to be worked out, and if it is already being worked out, how many teachers have so far been associated with it?

Shri Hathi: The suggestions contained in the letter have already been communicated to the States, but the action taken by the States is not yet known, and is being awaited.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know whether these suggestions had been given to the primary teachers' associations existing in the various states, and if so, what was their reply?

Shri Hathi: The question relates mainly to village school teachers, and so it must be primary teachers.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Next question.

Shri Punnoose: The last question has not been answered, The question was whether the primary teachers' associations have been consulted? If so, what exactly was their reply?

Shri Hathi: No. Sir. So far as the Planning Commission is concerned. they have only sent these conclusions to the State Governments.

PACKAGES OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS WHO HAVE MIGRATED FROM EAST BENGAL

*984. **Shri K. Subrahmanyam:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that household belongings of a large number of Government Servants who had migrated from East Bengal are still in Pakistan territory without having been booked to their destination in India?

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, have Government any information as to why these packages are not being sent to India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) and (b). Since 1948 complaints have constantly been received from employees of the undivided Bengal Government who opted for service in West Bengal that they were being prevented from bringing away their personal and household effects from East Bengal. In 1949 the Pakistan Government agreed to give the same facilities in this matter as India was giving to optees for East Bengal. But in actual practice, the East Bengal authorities have continued to create difficulties and to prevent in one way or another the transfer of such personal effects.

Shri K. Subrahmanyam: Are the cases large in number?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: Not very insignificant in number.

Shri K. Subrahmanyam: Even though more than five years have passed, are their household belongings still kept there? Will the Government of India be held responsible for them, or will the Government of India make the Pakistan Government responsible for them, after the disputes are settled?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: They have no grievances against us. We have done all that was possible for us to do in the matter.

Shri K. Subrahmanyam: I wanted to know what is going to happen to the household belongings left in Pakistani area, by those Government servants who had opted for service in West Bengal. Who will be responsible for them? Will it be the Government of India that will be finally responsible, or will they fix the responsibility on the Pakistan Government in regard to the claims, from the financial aspect?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: Certainly we are not responsible. That is all I can say in the matter.

DISCUSSION OF KOREAN PROBLEM

***987. Shri Buchhikotaiah:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that representatives of the countries whose troops are fighting in Korea on behalf of the U.N.O. met on the 19th February, 1953 at the U.N. Headquarters, to discuss the Korean problem; and

(b) whether India was invited to that Conference?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) The Government of India have no information apart from the press reports which have appeared on the subject.

(b) The meeting was of representatives of countries which have armed forces in Korea. The Government of India were not invited.

Shri Buchhikotaiah: May I know whether the Government of India are in a position to give reasons why India was not invited.

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Because we have nothing to do with it.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether the Government of India tried to ascertain the truth of the press reports, and if so, what were their findings?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: The truth of what reports?

Shri V. P. Nayar: The hon. Minister stated that there were some press reports, of which the Government were aware. I want to know whether the Government have taken any steps to know whether such reports as those to which a reference was made, are true.

Shri Anil K. Chanda: We have made no inquiries in the matter, because we are not interested.

Shri Nambiar: May I know whether in view of the fact that the Government were not consulted in this matter, they are considering the question of withdrawing the medical unit from Korea?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It does not arise out of this question.

Shri Buchhikotaiah: Have the Government got any intention to call for a separate conference with independent peace-loving nations to consider this question?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Our conception of peace-loving nations differs.

INDIA'S DELEGATE TO ELECTORAL COMMISSION FOR SUDAN

***988. Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Mr. Sukumar Sen has been nominated India's delegate to the Electoral Commission for the Sudan; and

(b) if so, what are the terms of the appointment and for how long will he be away from India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) At the invitation of the British and Egptian Governments, the Government of India have selected Mr. Sukumar Sen to serve as Chairman of the Electoral Commission for the Sudan.

(b) It was suggested that the Members of the Sudan Electoral Commission should continue to draw pay from their own Governments so as to stress their freedom from local influences and their complete impartiality. The Government of India, in common with the other participating Governments, accepted this suggestion and will, therefore, pay Mr. Sen his present salary plus an allowance to cover incidental expenditure as well as the cost of travel between India and Sudan. The Sudan Government will provide him with accommodation and transport. Mr. Sen's assignment is likely to last from four to six months from the beginning of March.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: May I know, Sir, whether in view of the extreme bad feelings between Egypt and Britain over the election arrangements in Sudan, Government have taken into consideration the extreme peril to our national honour and self-respect if something goes wrong over there in connection with Mr. Sukumar Sen's appointment?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I really do not understand the peril to our national honour and self-respect. At the request of the Governments concerned, we have sent one of our most experienced officers and he has been entrusted with a very difficult task. I have no doubt that he will discharge it to the best of his ability. I do not know where the peril comes to anybody.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: Have the Government any idea of how Mr. Sen's appointment has been received by the Sudanese national political parties—not the Sudan Government?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He would not have been appointed unless he was agreeable to them. As far as subsequent information goes, his appointment has been very well received by all concerned.

Shri Nambiar: May I know, Sir, if Mr. Sen is to be there for five or six months, why we should pay him for that period? Why can't the Sudan Government pay?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The reason was given. It is a very small matter, to oblige a friendly Government; not only in regard to Mr. Sen himself but the other members too, it was suggested that the Governments concerned should pay. We did not argue about it. We accepted that.

MEETING OF POLICE OFFICERS OF RAJASTHAN AND BAHAWALPUR

***989. Shri Gidwani:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a meeting of Police Officers of Rajasthan and Bahawalpur State was held in the last week of February, 1953, in Ganganagar District to review the border situation?

(b) What were the subjects discussed?

(c) What were the decisions arrived at?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) and (b). Yes, on the 24th February 1953, to discuss the law and order situation on the border.

(c) The decisions reached related mainly to the restoration of kidnapped persons, and of stolen cattle, the maintenance and exchange of lists of notorious cattle lifters and smugglers, and the communication of timely information of border crimes by the Superintendents of Police to their opposite numbers.

Shri Gidwani: May I know, Sir, whether the agreements arrived at at the conference were implemented by both Governments, particularly by the Pakistan Government?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: I have not got that information here. But the meeting was successful, Sir. They came to certain agreed decisions.

STATE TRADING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

***990. Shri K. C. Sodhia:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to refer to the answer to part (b) of starred question No. 830 asked on the 2nd December, 1952 and state whether the Committee appointed to make a further examination of State Trading has finished its labours?

(b) If not, when is it likely to do so?

(c) What were the terms of reference of this Committee?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):

(a) No, Sir.

(b) The Committee is expected to submit its report to Government within a month.

(c) A statement is placed on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

Terms of Reference of the State Trading Committee (1952)

The Government of India examined the recommendations of State Trading Committee appointed in 1949 and considered that they required to be reviewed in the light of subsequent developments, particularly the falling markets and the uncertain trend of India's International trade. The review has been entrusted to a small committee.

2. The Committee, while reviewing the problem of State Trading in the light of present economic conditions, will also examine whether and to what extent the export of yarn of certain categories, of handloom products and of cottage industry products could be undertaken by the State in the present circumstances.

Shri K. C. Sodhia: What is the total capital sunk in these ventures by the Central and State Governments?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I am afraid there is no venture at all in this matter. It is in order to venture into this rather difficult field that we have asked for the recommendations of a Committee.

ENEMY PROPERTY IN INDIA

***991. Shri K. C. Sodhia:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state how long the disposal of properties still vested in the Custodian of Enemy Properties is likely to take?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): I am afraid, it is not posssible to indicate fairly accurately the further amount of time which will be required for this work. The disposal of enemy property depends on the conclusion of negotiations for the settlement of Indian claims against countries whose properties are vested in the Custodian of Enemy Property. These negotiations are still pending in some cases.

Shri K. C. Sodhia: What is the total worth of the properties still left?

Shri Karmarkar: The total value is assessed to be 6,86,03,990.

RURAL INDUSTRIAL SCHEME IN MYSORE

***994. Shri Thimmaiah:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state what is the grant for the year 1952-53 sanctioned for Rural Industrial Scheme in Mysore and whether that grant has actually been paid to Mysore Government?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): A grant of Rs. 25,000 was made to the **Government of Mysore** for five production *cum* Training Centres in connection with the Rural Industrialisation Scheme; but was diverted to finance similar centres under the State Governments' Three Year Plan, at the request of the State Government. The Grant has been drawn by the State Government.

Shri Thimmaiah: May I know, Sir, whether the Mysore Government has asked for some grant for 1953 and 1954?

Shri Karmarkar: That is likely, but I should like to inform myself.

FILMS ON KOREAN WAR

***995. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** (a) Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state how many news-reels which contain pictures on the Korean War have been passed by the Central Board of Film Censors during the period 1951-53?

(b) How many of these were U.S.A. productions and how many from other countries?

(c) How many of these have been refused certificates and from which countries did these films emanate?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): Information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House.

SHIFTING OF OFFICES TO MUSSOORIE

***973. Shri Madhao Reddi:** Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Mussoorie House owners Association has submitted to the Government a proposal for the shifting of some of the Government offices to Mussoorie to relieve the congestion in Delhi?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): Yes, Sir, The association have suggested that Government should consider locating some of their offices there; they are not worried so much about the congestion in Delhi but are naturally anxious for Mussoorie, as the Hill Station is losing its former popularity.

Shri Madhao Reddi: May I know, Sir, what was the attitude of the Government.

Sardar Swaran Singh: I have indicated the attitude of the Government, Sir. We are considering the move of certain offices out of Delhi and Mussoorie is one of the stations which is being considered in that connection.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: Which are the offices which are likely to be moved?

Sardar Swaran Singh: It is premature yet to make any statement.

Shri Bansal: Has any similar request been received from Ranikhet also?

Sardar Swaran Singh: It is being received from almost all places which are getting unpopular.

Shri Nambiar: Is there any suggestion to shift offices to Madras State?

The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi): It is a very popular State.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now all the questions are over.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: It has been intimated to you that I can put the question of Shri Dasratha Deb. A letter has been sent to you.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker All right. Has the hon. lady member been authorised?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: It is in your possession, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the question?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: No. 993.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It has been transferred to another date—31st March. The question hour is over.

Now I will call the short notice questions.

Shri Amjad Ali.

Short Notice Questions and Answers

SEVERE GALES IN BENGAL AND ASSAM

I. Shri Amjad Ali: Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:
(a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the newspaper report (*A. B. Patrika*, dated 17th March 1953) of the severe gales sweeping parts of Bengal and Assam;

(b) the loss to property and lives it involved;

(c) damage to standing crops and fruit bearing trees; and

(d) the relief measures taken and also measures to restore the tele-communications?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) to (d). With your permission, Sir, I propose to make a brief statement covering all the points.

I regret to say that full details have not yet been received from the State Governments concerned. However, according to the information so far received, it appears that the affected areas in West Bengal are mainly in the Kotwali and Dinhanta Police Stations of the Cooch-Behar district. It is reported that several persons were injured in these districts, but only three cases proved fatal; some cattle are also reported to have been destroyed. A number of huts were razed to the ground and many more severely damaged affecting more than 2,000 families. Several refugee colonies were also affected. Some damage was caused to Tobacco both in fields and in godowns. A few roads were blocked by uprooted trees but have since been cleared. Telegraphic and telephonic communications which were disrupted have since been restored. The total amount of damage is stated to be Rs. 2 lakhs.

Medical aid was rendered on the night of occurrence. Next morning, arrangements were made, wherever possible, for the distribution of powder milk and biscuits from local Red Cross stocks. Later rice, dal, blankets, dhuties, saris and more powder milk were distributed from relief stocks in hand. A sum of Rs. 3,000 has been sanctioned by the State Government for distribution as gratuitous relief for food. They are also expecting further proposals from the district authorities for free grant of loan for house building purposes.

The particulars of the storms that might have passed over the other Northern Districts of West Bengal are being collected by the State Government.

In Assam, more or less all districts are reported to have been affected but none of them very severely. The damage in the districts of Nowgong, Goalpara, Golaghat, Kohima in Naga Hills district is, however, more severe than in other districts. So far 17 deaths have been reported. Several houses have been blown down and some Government buildings have also been affected. No serious loss to animal life is reported. There are at present no standing crops in Assam. Suitable relief measures have been taken by the State Government.

There were some heavy breakdowns of tele-communications in both Assam and Bengal. Telegraph lines were extensively damaged in Manipur Road—Mariani, Gauhati-Cooch-Behar-Siliguri—Katihar, Gauhati-Shillong and Siliguri—Darjeeling sections due to flying corrugated iron sheets from house tops striking against wires, uprooted trees falling on lines and telegraph poles leaning at several points. Main line communications were interrupted to places in North Bengal and Assam on the 13th. Several telegraph circuits to stations in the interior were also interrupted. The work of repairing the damage to lines was commenced on the night of the 13th itself. Telegraph and telephone communications were restored to Siliguri and Gauhati by the 14th morning, to Shillong by noon and Darjeeling by the evening.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Sir, it is a long statement and we are not able to follow it.

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It deals with uprooting of telegraph poles in Assam and Bengal.

Shri Datar: According to the rules it has to be read, Sir. There are about 10 or 15 lines more.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is a very serious matter. As a matter of fact, the hon. Member wanted to raise a motion of adjournment in this House Having regard to the amount of casualty etc. brought about by the gales, I said a short notice question would enable the Government to collect the necessary information on these matters. I thought the House will naturally be inclined to hear in some detail all about it. If the hon. Members are not inclined. I will hereafter ask only whatever might be necessary to be read. It is rather difficult. I find that when sufficient information is given exception is taken to it, and when informaton is not given equal exception is taken to it. Therefore, I am not in a position to advise the hon. Minister. Hereafter, I will leave the discretion to him. If it is lengthy he need not read it. If it is very long he can lay it on the table of the House. He is not obliged to read every portion of it.

Shri Datar: May I read the rest to the House? I have no objection.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are only 10 or 15 lines you may read it.

Shri Datar: Circuits to Tinsukhia and Imphal were restored by the afternoon on the 15th, as the damage in Manipur Road-Mariani section was fairly extensive. All telegraph communications to places in the interior and railway telegraph and control circuits were also restored by the afternoon of the 15th.

The only Aeronautical Communication Stations affected were at the aerodromes at Jorhat and Kumbhirgram. However, there was no dislocation of the Aeronautical Radio facilities at Jorhat. At Kumbhirgram, where more serious damage was caused, the communications were restored by making emergency arrangements on the afternoon of the 14th March. By the morning of the 15th, all Aeronautical Radio facilities were functioning normally.

No damage to the Railway lines and the roads has so far been reported.

Shri Amjad Ali: May I ask one question, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The answer is sufficiently long.

Shri Amjad Ali: What was the extent of the fury of the gales and is it the information of the Government that one plane was involved in this or overtaken by the gale near Agartala and there was certain loss of lives?

Shri Datar: We have no information, Sir.

Shri L. J. Singh: Are Government aware of the fact, Sir, that more than 50 per cent. of the houses in the southern part of Manipur were blown off by the recent cyclone?

Shri Datar: All the information that has been received was read by me just now. There is no further information.

Shri L. J. Singh: No mention was made about Manipur.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Further information is being collected.

13 P.S.D.

Shri Nambiar: Sir, in view of the fact that there was so much havoc caused with loss of life, may I know the reason why the relief granted was up to an amount of Rs. 3,000 only?

Shri Datar: It is Rs. 3,000 in Bengal up to the time of wiring the information to us.

Shri Amjad Ali: What was the amont given in Assam, Sir?

Shri Datar: That figure has not been supplied to us.

Shri Nambiar: Was any relief sent from the Centre?

Shri Datar: If it is asked for we shall gladly send it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Next question No. 79.

Shri Matthen: Sir, my question has been mutilated.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Member is not willing to have it in the mutilated form, I will pass to the next question.

Shri Matthen: No, Sir. Will he allow me to read that portion which has been deleted?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No: only all that is typed and placed before him.

URANIUM THORIUM PLANT

II. Shri Matthen: (a) Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state why the proposed Uranium Thorium Plant is to be erected in Bombay Harbour Island?

(b) Did the Government consult the Travancore-Cochin Government before this decision was made?

(c) In view of the availability of the main raw material and other favourable factors, have Government considered the desirability of erecting the Plant in Alwaye or Cochin?

(d) Are Government aware of the need of erecting more factories in Travancore-Cochin in view of the great unemployment problem there?

The Deputy Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Shri K. D. Malaviya): (a) to (d). A statement giving detailed information on the subject is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 52.]

Shri Matthen: I have read the reply, Sir. Was not the hon. Dy. Minister present when different reasons were adduced at the meeting of the N.R.

and S.R. Committee three days ago, *e.g.,* lack of electricity and dearth of sulphuric acid and caustic soda as responsible for shifting that factory from Alwaye to Bombay?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I was present in the meeting and the reasons given there are almost the same as have been stated in the answer.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister says the same reasons are there.

Shri Matthen: Did he point out then, Sir, that both electricity and sulphuric acid are in plenty in Alwaye and a new reason has been given now?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I really do not understand, Sir, how this question arises. I am slightly connected with the matter, being in charge of the Atomic Energy Commission. After full consideration, they came to a decision. Now, how can we go into what was a suitable place for dealing with Uranium Plant, whether Alwaye or Bombay, and discuss the suitability in answer to a short notice question?

Shri P. T. Chacko: May I know whether this factory is intended to process the residual cake left behind by the Rare Earths Factory at Alwaye?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Yes, Sir.

Shri Punnoose: May I know whether there is any other factory dealing with Rare Earth which produces the same stuff?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: So far as I know, there is not.

Shri Punnoose: Is it not advisable to have a factory to deal with these under favourable local conditions?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members are forgetting the scope of questions. They are intended normally to elicit information. If they have any action to suggest and to raise discussion there are other means by which the matter may be raised.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: May I know whether the Government of India intends to pay Messrs. Indian Rare Earths Ltd. any price for the residuary cake containing uranium and thorium hydroxide?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Messrs Indian Rare Earths Ltd. will certainly get all the dues for the residuary cake that they sell.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: May I know whether Government are aware that this shifting of factories one by one from the Travancore-Cochin State to other parts of India is very damaging to our economic interests and our self-respect?

Shri Joachim Alva: Since the hon. Prime Minister has intervened in this question, may I ask him what is the policy of Government in regard to congregating important major industries in large cities especially in times of war?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That does not arise out of this question.

Shri P. T. Chacko: May I know what are the products intended to be manufactured in this new factory?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Mainly manufacture of thorium nitrate and also processing of uranium.

Shri V. P. Nayar: In view of the fact that the new factory will create the necessity for employing additional labour, may I know whether Government have considered the growing unemployment in Travancore-Cochin before they think of shifting this factory?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: The whole question has been considered.

Shri V. P. Nayar: One more question.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No. Next Short Notice Question.

AVIATION FUEL

III. Shri V. P. Nayar: Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have made any efforts to enable the Air Services operating in India to get 90-octane-98 Grade Aviation Fuel;

(b) whether this grade is not cheaper than the 100-octane-130 grade fuel now used by Indian Air Companies; and

(c) whether Government are aware that 100-octane-130 grade fuel is supplied to the Australian Air Services at rates considerably cheaper than the rates charged in India and that by the same suppliers?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Yes, Sir. Only very slightly.

(c) No, Sir.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the fact that aviation fuel used by Dakotas in Australia is

42 per cent. cheaper than the fuel available in India?

Shri Buragohain: The position stated by the hon. Member is not correct.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether the hon. Minister has seen the report of the Air Transport Enquiry Committee, to para. 138 of which, on page 71, I would draw his pointed attention?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister does not agree with him.

Shri V. P. Nayar: This is a committee appointed by the Government of India and there is no getting away from the facts contained in its report.

Shri Buragohain: I have seen that report. The position stated therein was the position as it existed in 1950-51. but it has since changed. The matter was taken up by the Government with the oil companies—the suppliers—and the present position is that the price is almost the same as the one that rules in Australia both at port and at the supply points.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Is it a fact that 98 grade used in the United States and Australia by DC-3s is about 10 per cent. cheaper than the 100/130 grade used here?

Shri Buragohain: It is not correct. The incidence of cheapness is only about two pice, i.e. ·25 cents.

Dr. Jaisoorya: According to AEROPLANE dated 10th October 1952, the prices in Australia were reduced by 13 pence. Was it done so here?

Shri Buragohain: According to the information that Government have in their possession, the price in Australia has. in fact. been slightly raised, whereas the price in India has been correspondingly reduced.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether Government are aware that the price differential necessitates an avoidable extra expenditure of a minimum of Rs. 60 lakhs per year to Indian air service companies, and may I also know whether in fact the subsidy that is given by Government is not used to finance the suppliers of fuel?

Shri Buragohain: The price differential is not admitted. There is no price differential at all. As I said, the difference is only about two pice per gallon.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Will the hon. Minister be pleased to inform the House what is the present price of this fuel in Australia and will he also inform the House of the source of his information?

Shri Buragohain: In Australia, at Durban it is 34·13 pence and at Sydney 31·73 pence, which works out to Rs. 1-6-9 and Rs. 1-5-2 respectively, whereas in Bombay and Calcutta it works out to Rs. 1-5-9, and Rs. 1-6-6 excluding taxes and duty.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I do not want the price at Bombay and Calcutta. Petrol is supplied at several other interior ports also. What is the average price of petrol?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. We are going into minute details.

Shri V. P. Nayar: One more question.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No more questions. I will call upon the Prime Minister.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

COTTAGE INDUSTRY INSTITUTE, HARDUAGUNJ

***972. Shri S. C. Singhal:** (a) Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the progress made by the Central Cottage Industries Institute of Harduagunj, P.O. Kasimpur, District Aligarh of Uttar Pradesh?

(b) How much money in all has been spent on it and for how much the machines were purchased?

(c) How many students are receiving education and what is the strength of the staff and their salary?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Experiments were conducted on the machines installed at Harduaganj but most of them have been found out-moded or unsuitable for Indian conditions. A few, like the oil expeller and the fodder-cutter which proved useful have already been duplicated.

Due, however, to the unsuitability of the majority of machines and the isolated location of Harduaganj, the Institution has been closed down.

(b) In all Rs. 3,57,770 has been spent upto October, 1952. This amount includes Rs. 80,820 on account of cost of machines and equipment, Rs. 1,64,500 for renovation of buildings and the balance of Rs. 1,12,450 on account of salaries of staff, contingent expenditure, etc.

(c) No training classes were started.

A statement showing the care and

maintenance staff working at present and their salaries, is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 53.]

INDIAN DOCTORS FOR BURMA

***985. Shri B. S. Murthy:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state the number of Indian doctors recently recruited by the Government of Burma and the number of doctors who have already left for Burma?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): 201 Indian doctors were selected by the Government of Burma, and 103 of them have left for Burma so far.

A.I.R. STATION, VIJAYAWADA

***992. Shri B. S. Murthy:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the All India Radio, Vijayawada, has been down-graded:

(b) if so, since when and the reasons therefor;

(c) whether any representations were received protesting against such an action; and

(d) if so, the attitude of Government towards the same?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) No, Sir.

(b) to (d). Do not arise.

PAKISTANI RAID ON ASSAM BORDER VILLAGE

695. Shri Ganpati Ram: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether there was a Pakistani raid in the border village of Takimari in Assam on the night of the 11th February, 1953;

(b) if so, the casualties, if any, and the amount of property lost; and

(c) whether any steps have been taken by the Government of India to put a stop to such raids?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) It is reported that Pakistani nationals attempted a dacoity in a house of village Takimari, Goalpara District.

(b) As a result of firing by the dacoits, four persons received injuries, of whom one died on the way to hospital. The value of property lost is not known.

(c) Under the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 1948, all border incidents other than those involving questions of policy have to be settled by the District Magistrates of the border districts concerned, and, failing a decision by them, by the Commissioners of the Divisions Steps have also to be taken by them to prevent recurrence of such incidents. Serious incidents are taken up with the East Bengal Government by the State Government concerned. Action according to this procedure has been taken.

GYPSUM DEPOSITS IN RAJASTHAN

696. Shri Balwant Sinha Mehta: Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Gypsum deposits in Rajasthan is the only source of supply to Sindri Fertilizers Factory;

(b) the estimated quantity of Gypsum in reserves for this purpose,

(c) when this factory operates in its full capacity, for how many years these reserves would suffice;

(d) whether new sources are being tapped;

(e) whether Government are aware that large quantities of Gypsum are burnt on the site and used for building purposes;

(f) if so, what steps are being taken to check it;

(g) whether Government are also aware that the Cement Factories misuse it; and

(h) whether investigations have been made and if so, up to what grade the gypsum could well serve the purpose of Cement Factories?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) No, but for the present only the deposits in Rajasthan, which are the largest and of a grade suitable for the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, are being exploited for this purpose.

(b) The reserves of high purity gypsum in Rajasthan are estimated at 36½ million tons. Deposits are also reported to exist at the following places and in the quantities shown against them, but their quality and purity with respect to their suitability for the Sindri Fertilizer Factory still remain to be determined:—

Madras	16,300,000	tons
Saurashtra	4,466,000	,,
Kutch	2,071,000	"
Himachal Pradesh	383,000	"
Uttar Pradesh	206,000	"

Large deposits are also known to occur in Kashmir and Bhutan but detailed survey of these deposits has still to be carried out.

(c) The known deposits in Rajasthan alone are estimated to last for a period of 60 years.

(d) The suitability of other gypsum deposits, both in Rajasthan and other parts of India, is being investigated.

(e) Government have had reports that some Gypsum is being burnt and used for building purposes.

(f) The important deposits in Rajasthan are being leased out by the Rajasthan Government to the Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited and this will put a stop to their wasteful use.

(g) Cement factories use high grade gypsum from their own lease-holds, but where the gypsum supplies are made through the State agency, the supplies are confined to the lower grade of gypsum.

(h) No. Cement Factories usually use gypsum having a purity of 70 to 80 per cent. as it is not economical to use any lower grade gypsum. The need for any special investigation has not therefore arisen.

INSULIN (MANUFACTURE)

697. Dr. Amin: (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether it is possible to manufacture Insulin on a commercial and economical scale in our country?

(b) Is it a fact that slaughter-houses are not properly organized for the collection of pancreas glands which are essential raw materials for the manufacture of Insulin?

(c) Is it a fact that Railways do not provide cold storage transportation facilities at economical rates for the movement of these glands?

(d) Is it a fact that the process for the manufacture of Insulin is known to some Indian pharmaceutical firms and that some firms actually manufacture Insulin without any foreign technical assistance?

(e) Do Government propose to encourage the manufacture of Insulin by private firms who are already engaged in its manufacture by providing facilities in the form of improved slaughter-houses and cold storage transport arrangements in Railways?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) to (e). A statement is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 54.]

INFLUX OF PAKISTANIS FROM BAHAWALPUR

698. Shri S. N. Das: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) what is the number of Pakistanis that have so far been found to have crossed the border into Rajasthan from Bahawalpur area;

(b) the number of such of them as were sent back to Pakistan after being found out; and

(c) the number of such of them as have been tried and convicted for violating passport laws?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) Till the end of February, 462 Pakistanis were apprehended by the border and district police for illegal entry into India.

(b) and (c). Information has been called for from the Government of Rajasthan and will be laid on the Table of the House.

CONSTITUTION HOUSE

699. Shri M. L. Dwivedi: Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) the life, originally estimated, of the building known as the Constitution House;

(b) the costs and expenditure being incurred in the repair work of this house from year to year upto date;

(c) how long is the building expected to survive;

(d) the depreciation percentage per year according to official estimates; and

(e) whether reduction in rent and other charges are made accordingly from time to time?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) Ten years.

(b)	1946-47	Rs. 54,910
	1947-48	Rs. 46,565
	1948-49	Rs. 27,042
	1949-50	Rs. 61,272
	1950-51	Rs. 52,463
	195152	Rs. 47,636

(c) 2 to 5 years with careful maintenance.

(d) The manner in which Government maintain their works in this behalf, does not allow for depreciation being taken into account.

(e) No, Sir. In view of the maintenance expenditure incurred, rents cannot be reduced on the basis of the depreciated values of buildings.

COMMODITY CONTROL COMMITTEE

700. Shri Lakshman Singh Charak: (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether Commodity Control Committee has been set up by the Central Government?

(b) What are the terms of reference of the Committee and the names of the Members of the Committee?

(c) How many States and Commercial Institutes have been examined by the Committee so far?

(d) Has any preliminary report been submitted by the Committee to Government?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The terms of reference of the Committee are:—

(1) to examine and review the working of—

(i) the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act, 1946;

(ii) the Supply and Prices of Goods Act, 1950;

(iii) the Drugs (Control) Act, 1950, and the Control Orders, and Notifications issued thereunder.

(2) to make recommendations for the revision or repeal of any of the said Laws with a view to improving the existing systems of controls, and

(3) to streamline the Control Orders and Notifications.

The personnel of the Committee are:—

1. Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, Deputy Chairman, Council of States—Chairman.
2. Shri M. P. Pai, I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Production—Member.
3. Shri L. K. Jha, I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Commerce and Industry—Member.
4. Shri B. N. Lokur, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Law—Member.
5. Dr. S. R. Sen, Economic and Statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture—Member.
6. Shri M. A. Mulky, Assistant Economic Adviser to the Government of India—Secretary.

(c) The Committee has so far examined representatives of 21 State Governments and of 40 Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations.

(d) No, Sir.

RECRUITMENT TO POSTS UNDER THE CENTRAL WATER AND POWER COMMISSION

701. Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to lay on the Table of the House a statement supplying the following information:—

(a) the minimum educational and technical qualifications for all Classes II and III technical services and posts under the Central Water and Power Commission for

(i) direct recruitment,

(ii) recruitment by promotion; and

(iii) recruitment by transfer of officers of other Central and State Governments' Departments; and

(b) the procedure for making recruitment for the services and posts referred to in part (a) above?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): A statement is placed on the Table of the House. [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-25/53.]

TAXES ON COAL

702. Shri M. Islamuddin: Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state the amount of revenue derived from coal in the shape of cess, excise duty, export duty and sales tax levied by the Centre during the years 1950-51 and 1951-52?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy):

	1950-51 Rs.	1951-52 Rs (rovisional)
(i) Welfare Cess.	1,09,27,113	9,274,659
(ii) Rescue Cess	217,952	2,60,867
(iii) Stowing Excise Duty.	51,14,752	68,80,576
(iv) Export surcharge.	2,031,735	1,74,38,856

No sales tax on coal is levied by the Central Government.

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES

703. Shri Veeraswamy: Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) the projects to be implemented under the Five Year Plan for social. economic and educational development of the Scheduled Castes; and

(b) the amount allotted for Madras State in this respect?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 55.]

(b) Rs. 4·67 crores.

CLASSIFIED LISTS OF THE CENTRAL WATER AND POWER COMMISSION

704. Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to refer to the answer given to my Unstarred Question No. 767 on the 17th December, 1952 and state what steps Government are taking to check irregularities in the preparation of classified lists of staff of the Central Water and Power Commission?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): The seniority lists of the various categories of posts have been prepared on the basis of the orders issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs and circulated to the staff for objections if any. Final lists will be prepared after considering the objections.

TEAM OF OFFICERS TO STUDY PROCESSES OF FERTILISERS PRODUCTION

705. Shri Sinhasan Singh: Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) the names of the three officers who have been sent to different countries for the purpose of studying the development of fertiliser production and their special qualifications for the choice; and

(b) whether these officers belong to the Executive side or belong to and had special training in fertiliser production?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy: (a) and (b) (1) Shri B. C. Mukharji, I.C.S., Managing Director, Sindri Fertilizer and Chemicals Ltd., Sindri—Leader.

(2) Dr. A. Nagaraja Rao, Industrial Adviser, Ministry of Commerce and Industry—Member.

(3) Dr. Van Evere, Member of the National Research Council of U.S.A. (Nominee of T.C.A.)—Member.

(4) Shri K. C. Sharma, Plant Superintendent, Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited, Sindri—Secretary.

The team has been selected in consultation with the T.C.A. and keeping in view the necessity of the personnel having adequate technical qualifications and experience in industrial, particularly fertilizer, production and of the leader having wide administrative experience combined with background knowledge of fertilizer production.

HIMALAYAN EXPEDITIONS

706. Shri Ganpati Ram: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of foreign expeditions that are coming to India to climb the Himalayan peaks and Mount Everest;

(b) the number of persons in each, and the period of their mounting;

(c) whether the Government of India have allocated any money to these foreign expeditions to assist in their effort; and

(d) whether any Indian expedition is also trying to conquer the Mount Everest and if so, the names of the personnel, and the amount allocated for the same?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) Four such expeditions are proceeding to Himalayas as far as the Government are aware.

(b) The Japanese and British expeditions consist of fifteen and thirteen persons respectively: the Swiss expedition of 8 and the New Zealand expedition of 4. The period of climbing in each case is 3 to 4 months.

(c) No.

(d) Government have no information.

PENALTIES LEVIED IN REHABILITATON CIRCLES

707. Shri V. G. Deshpande: (a) Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state whether there has been a case in the Rehabilitation Circle in which the penalty was levied by the Superintending Engineer but was ordered by the Ministry to be waived?

(b) Has any action been taken against the said Officer or Officers for this wrongful levy of penalty?

(c) What are the cases in which penalty has been levied by the Superintending Engineer, Rehabilitation Circle in the years 1951-52 and 1952-53?

(d) Were the sites made available to the Contractors in all these cases stated in part (c) above at one time or at different times?

(e) If at different times, will Government review all these cases?

(f) Has any circular been issued by the Ministry giving instructions in which cases the C.P.W.D. officers can levy penalty for delay in the execution of works?

(g) What are the cases of the Rehabilitation Circle that required extension of time in the year 1952-53?

(h) Has extension of time been given in all these cases stated in part (g) above or some penalty has been levied?

(i) If penalty has been levied, are Government prepared to review these cases?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) Yes.

(b) Whether any action has to be taken is under consideration.

(c) A list of such cases is appended. (List I). [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-26/53.]

(d) Necessary information in this behalf is contained in Column-4 of List I (appended).

(e) Yes; if it is established that such a review is necessary.

(f) No.

(g) A list of such cases is appended. (List II). [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-26/53.]

(h) The required information in this behalf in respect of each case is given in List II (appended).

(i) Yes; if it is established that such a review is necessary.

IMPORT OF FOREIGN FILMS

708. Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of foreign films, specified according to the country of origin, imported for exhibition in India from 1948 to 1952; and

(b) the share of the United States of America in the total import?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 56.]

Information in terms of number of films imported is not available. Statistics are maintained in terms of length of exposed film imported.

(b) The percentage share of the U.S.A. in the total imports is as follows:—

1948-49	55 per cent.
1949-50	41 per cent.
1950-51	34 per cent.
1951-52	51 per cent.

PURCHASE OF PLANT AND MACHINERY BY DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION

709. Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to state:

(a) the total amount, in rupees, of the plant and machinery purchased, or about to be purchased for the Damodar Valley Corporation, inclusive of the Bokaro Thermal Plant; and

(b) the country or countries from which such purchase has been made or is in contemplation?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) The total amount in rupees of the plant and machinery purchased and on order, inclusive of the Bokaro Thermal Plant, is Rs. 2066:38 lakhs.

(b) U.S.A., U.K., Germany, Sweden, France, Italy, Australia, Japan, Canada, Switzerland and India.

LIGHT AND FANS TO QUARTERS OF CLASS IV SERVANTS

710. Shri Kelappan: Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state whether Government have any scheme to supply electric light and fans to the quarters of peons and other low paid Government servants?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): There is a scheme to supply electric light but not fans in these quarters.

TOFFEE AND CHOCOLATE (PRICES)

711. Shri Lakshman Singh Charak: (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce**

and Industry be pleased to state why the prices of Toffee and Chocolate have increased exhorbitantly in India?

(b) Have Government given any protection to these industries?

(c) If so, what are the details of the protection granted?

(d) Are Government aware that the price of these commodities has gone up higher than what they were during the second world war?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) and (d). There has been no appreciable increase in the price of Toffee. The rise in the price of chocolate is due to increased cost of raw materials since World War II.

(b) The Chocolate Industry is protected but the Toffee Industry is not.

(c) (i) A Protective duty at the rate of 30 per cent. *ad valorem* is leviable on the import of Cocoa Powder and Chocolate, other than confectionery.

(ii) Cocoabean, which is the main raw material for the manufacture of Chocolate, is exempted from import duty.

ISSUE OF INCOME-TAX VERIFICATION CERTIFICATES AND EXEMPTION NUMBERS

712. Shri C. R. Chowdary: (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state what is the procedure adopted for issue of income-tax verification certificate or exemption number by the Deputy Chief Controller of Imports, Madras?

(b) What time is required usually for the issue of such numbers?

(c) How many applications for such numbers were received during the years, 1951, 1952 and 1953?

(d) Were any complaints against preferential treatment in the disposal of such applications received by the Deputy Controller of Imports, Madras during 1951, 1952 and 1953?

(e) What action, if any, has been taken to check up if there are any malpractices in this office?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) The procedure for allotment of Income-tax Verification Registration numbers and the exemption numbers is out-lined in Public Notice No. 122-ITC(PN)/52 dated the 22nd November 1952 reproduced as Annexure 'A' to Section I of the Policy Book for the January—June 1953 period, and is followed by all the licensing authorities, including the Deputy Chief Controller of Imports, Madras.

(b) Ordinarily, it takes about three days; but urgent cases are disposed of the same day.

(c)

Year	Number of applications received
1951	6,112
1952	6,500
1953 (up to 10th March, 1953)	1,866

(d) No, Sir.

(e) Does not arise.

IMPORT APPLICATION FORMS

713. Shri C. R. Chowdary: (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether any complaint was received in February, 1953 in connection with refusal to sell Actual Users' Import Application forms in the office of the Deputy Controller of Imports and Exports, Madras?

(b) Has any action been taken against those responsible for this?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Sale of Actual Users' Application forms during the hours fixed for such sale was never refused. The complaint related to the refusal to sell a form after the closing hour fixed for the sale. The question of taking any action against any officer does not, therefore, arise.

RESEARCH IN A. I. R.

714. Shri Madiah Gowda: Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is any arrangement for research in A.I.R.; and

(b) if so, the amount of annual expenditure for that purpose?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) and (b). Yes. Sir, the budget grant for the office of Research Engineer, All India Radio for 1952-53 is Rs. 3,86,500.

KHADI

715. Shri Madiah Gowda: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the quantity of Khadi produced in each State every year since 1947?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): A statement giving the information is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 57.]

D.D.T. FACTORY

716. **Dr. Amin:** (a) Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state what will be the production capacity of the D.D.T. Factory to be set up in Delhi?

(b) Are there any other Indian firms, which are engaged in the manufacture of D.D.T. and if so, the names of such firms and their total manufacturing capacity?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) 700 to 750 long tons per year.

(b) No. The remaining part of the question does not arise.

PREPARATION OF FIVE YEAR PLAN (EXPENSES)

717. **Shri Lakshman Singh Charak:** (a) Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state how much money has been spent in preparing the Five-Year Plan, both draft outline and the final one?

(b) How many months did it take to prepare this Plan?

(c) How many experts were consulted in preparing the Plan?

(d) How much money was spent on touring in various parts of the country for collecting the data and other relevant information?

(e) Is the staff working in the Planning Commission's Secretariat liable to be made permanent and if so, when?

(f) What is the number of Gazetted and non-Gazetted Officers employed in the Planning Commission on the technical and non-technical sides?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) The total expenditure incurred from the inception of the Commission until the end of November, 1952 amounted to Rs. 27,43,984.

(b) The preparation of the Five Year Plan was begun in October, 1950 and the Draft outline was published in July 1951. The Plan was presented in its final form in December, 1952.

(c) A large number of technicians and experts belonging to the Central and States Governments as well as others were consulted in respect of individual projects during the ordinary course of work in the Commission. The Planning Commission also consulted its Advisory Board and its panels. No other experts were called into consultation for preparing the Plan.

(d) The total expenditure on travelling allowances amounted to Rs. 160,884.

(e) For the present, it is proposed to continue the various posts in the Planning Commission up to February, 1957. Futher continuation of the posts on a permanent basis or otherwise will be considered at the appropriate stage.

(f) A statement is placed on the Table. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 58.]

PASSPORT CHECK-POSTS

718. **Prof. D. C. Sharma:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of passport check-posts on the Indo-Pakistan border between the two Punjabs;

(b) the strength of the staff at each check-post with their designation; and

(c) the number of persons who passed through these check-posts since the introduction of the passport system?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) Eight.

(b)—

Checkr	Strength of the Staff			
	S.I.	A.S.I.	H.Cs.	F.Cs.
1. Attari Road.	1	1	3	12
2. Attari Railway Station	1	..		3
3. Raja Sansi	1	..		3
4. Khem Karan.	..	1	..	2
5. Khalra.	..	1	..	3
6. Hussainiwala.	1	1	2	6
7. Pacca.	..	1		2
8. Hindu-MalKot	..	1	..	2
TOTAL	4	6	5	33
GRAND TOTAL		48		

(c) 7723 persons till the 15th March 1953.

FILMS ON EDUCATION AND HEALTH

719. **Prof. D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of films on Education and Health prepared by Government, that were shown in the Punjab; and

(b) the names of cities where these films were shown?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) 7 documentary films on Education and 20 on Health released by the Films Division of Government of India have been shown in the Punjab.

(b) These films have been shown in all the cities and other places of the Punjab wherever there is a cinema. In addition, there are about 13 mobile vans with the State Government which show these films in the rural areas.

गायों और बछड़ों की खालें (निर्यात)

७२०: **सेठ गोविन्द दास** : क्या **वाणिज्य तथा उद्योग** मंत्री यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि सन् १९५२ में भारत से गायों और बछड़ों की कितनी खालें विदेश भेजी गई थीं तथा वे लगभग कितने मूल्य की थीं ?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): A statement giving the required information is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 58—A]

विदशी सेरकारों के अधीन सेवायुक्त भारतीय नागरिक

७२१. **सेठ गोविन्द दास** : क्या **प्रधान** मंत्री जी यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि सन् १९५२ में कितने भारतीय नेपाल, बर्मा, पाकिस्तान, लंका, भूटान, सिक्किम, चिन और अफ़गानिस्तान देशों की नौकरी में थे ?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The number of Indian nationals serving in 1952 under the Governments of the undermentioned countries is as follows:

Afghanistan: 5.

Burma.—The exact figures are not available. There were about 3,000 Indians employed in various departments of the Government of Burma and about 8,300 in Burma Railways. Most of these men have been discharged as a result of the Nationalisation policy of the Government of Burma.

China.—None.

Pakistan.—No definite information is possible at present. Until the proposed Bill on Citizenship is passed in the Parliament, the citizenship of Indians in Pakistan cannot be determined.

Sikkim: 25.

Nepal, Bhutan and Ceylon.—Information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House when available.

CENTRAL PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENTS

723. **Shri V. G. Deshpande**: (a) Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state the names of the various works under the Development Division of the Central Public Works Department that deal with earthwork and levelling which have been carried out and completed in the year 1952-53?

(b) Tenders in respect of how many of these works were called for on the basis of rates for earthwork in excavation?

(c) Tenders in respect of how many of these works were called for on the basis of rates for earthwork in filling?

(d) For how many of the works under parts (b) and (c) above final payments have been made?

(e) Is it a fact that some of the works of which the rates are based on earthwork in excavation have been paid as earthwork in filling?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) Levelling and earthwork in 34 acres of land lying north of Najaf Garh Road. Delhi has been completed. Similar works in respect of 75 acres at Motinagar and 100 acres at Ramesh Nagar are in hand.

(b) For all.

(c) None.

(d) None.

(e) No.

ACETONE

724. **Shri C. R. Narasimhan**: (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state what is the quantity and value of Acetone imported into India during the last three years?

(b) Is Acetone manufactured in India by any plant owned by the Government of India?

(c) If so, what is the value and quantity of such manufacture since the inception of the plant?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The information is not available.

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) Information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House.

M. Ps. FLATS (MAINTENANCE COSTS)

725. **Shri B. N. Kureel:** Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) the total annual maintenance cost of flats for M. Ps.;

(b) whether it is a fact that every occupant is charged Rs. 6 per month for services etc.; and

(c) what type of services the occupants are entitled to?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) The total maintenance cost amounted to Rs. 1,03,045 in 1952-53.

(b) Occupants of A, B and C type flats are charged at the rate of Rs. 5, 6 and 7 per mensem respectively.

(c) Supply of water, chowkidars' and sweepers' services including cleaning materials used by sweepers.

Demand No. 13—Defence Services, Effective—Navy [Cols. 2810—2842]

Demand No. 14—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force [Cols 2810—2842]

Demand No. 15—Defence Services, Non—Effective Charges [Cols. 2810—2842

Demand No. 16—Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Defence [Cols. 2810—2842]

Demand No. 114—Defence Capial Outlay [Cols. 2810—2842]

Motion *re* Detention of three Members and Others [Cols. 2842—2864]

Discussion *re* Situation in Jammu [Cols. 2864—2906]

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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Wednesday, 25th March, 1953

The House met at Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(*See Part I*)

3-20 P.M.

STATEMENT *RE* FORMATION OF ANDHRA STATE

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): On December 19, 1952, I informed this House that the Government of India had decided to establish an Andhra State, consisting of the Telugu speaking areas of the present Madras State, but not including the City of Madras, and that the Government were appointing Mr. Justice K. N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, to consider and report on the financial and other implications of this decision and the questions to be considered in implementing it.

Mr. Justice Wanchoo conducted this enquiry and presented his report on the 7th February, 1953. A copy of this report is placed on the Table of the House. [*Placed in Library. See* No. IV-C.C. (149)] Other copies will be available to Members. Government have given the most careful consideration to Mr. Justice Wanchoo's report and to the other matters connected with the establishment of the Andhra State. Some of these matters, more especially those relating to financial implications and the effect on the services, require further detailed consideration which they are receiving. There are, however, certain questions of a political nature, which have given rise to some controversy, and which have to be decided immediately so that further progress may be made. In regard to these, the Government have arrived at certain decisions.

The basic considerations which have to be kept in view are that an Andhra State has to be established and that it should consist of the Telugu speaking areas of the present Madras State. Further that the City of Madras is not to be included in the proposed Andhra State. The Andhra State, therefore, is to consist of what might be called the undisputed Telugu speaking areas of the present Madras State. At a subsequent stage, as I shall indicate later, a Boundary Commission or Commissions may have to be appointed to determine the exact boundaries of this new State. As this investigation might involve some delay, it is desirable that the State should be constituted as early as possible on the basis of existing boundaries of the districts except, in one case, where the boundary might be according to *taluqs*.

The Andhra State will consist of the following eleven districts: (1) Srikakulam, (2) Visakhapatnam, (3) East Godavari, (4) West Godavari, (5) Krishna, (6) Guntur, (7) Nellore, (8) Kurnool, (9) Anantapur, (10) Cuddapah and (11) Chittoor. It will also consist of a part of Bellary district as I shall indicate later.

It is clear that the capital of the Andhra State has to be in the territory of the new State. The Government are of opinion that the site of the capital should be determined by the Andhra people themselves through their Legislative Assembly.

A question has arisen about the temporary capital of the Andhra State till adequate arrangements are made for the functioning of the permanent capital. It has been suggested that there is some convenience in this temporary capital being located in the City of Madras. While it is true that

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

certain conveniences in regard to accommodation etc., will result from this temporary location in the City of Madras, there are important and, in the opinion of the Government, over-riding considerations against this proposal. It is desirable that, right from the inauguration of the new State, it should have its political headquarters in the State itself and should be enabled to function as a complete unit, freely and unhampered by any other considerations. The full integration and progress of the new State will thus be facilitated and any possible friction and complications, which might arise from the temporary location of the capital in the territory of another State, would be avoided. The location of the political capital of the Andhra State in Andhra territory, right from the commencement, will also result in the development of normal and cooperative relations between the new State and the residuary State.

The Government, therefore, are of opinion that the temporary capital of the Andhra State should be located in Andhra territory. This means that the seat of the Governor, the Ministers and the Legislature should be located in the territory of the new Andhra State. The decision as to the site of this temporary capital should be left to the Andhra people themselves and may be taken by the Andhra Members of the Madras Legislature, who are likely, at a later stage, to form the Legislative Assembly of the new State. This decision should be indicated to the Government of India by the beginning of July 1953.

While the capital of the State should be located within the territory of the new State from the date of the inauguration of that State, it is not necessary that all the offices pertaining to the Andhra State should also be transferred to the territory of the new State from that date. Some offices of the Andhra State might continue to be located in the City of Madras till arrangements are made for their transfer to Andhra territory. The Government are assured that the residuary State of Madras will make every effort to accommodate such offices.

The new Andhra State will be inaugurated in October 1, 1953, which is considered a suitable and convenient date for this purpose.

It should be clearly understood that any proposals involving financial assistance from the Central Government would require the approval of the Central Government and would depend upon the capacity of the Central Government to render help. Therefore, any decision about the capital or any other matter involving financial assistance would require the approval of the Central Government in so far as that financial assistance is concerned.

The Andhra Legislature, after the inauguration of the new State, should decide upon the location of the High Court within the territory of the new State. Till such decision is taken, the present Madras High Court will continue to function also as the High Court of the Andhra State. During this period, certain necessary conventions may be observed in regard to the administrative side of the High Court relating to Andhra as well as such other matters as may be considered necessary.

The Legislature of the Andhra State will consist of one Chamber only, that is, the Leegislative Assembly, and there will be no second Chamber. As regards the residuary State of Madras, it should be left to that State to decide the future of its second Chamber.

The Members elected to the present Madras Legislative Assembly from the areas which would form part of the new Andhra State, should constitute, to begin with, the new Andhra State Legislative Assembly.

The case of Bellary district has to be considered specially and it cannot be treated as a single unit for attachment to any State. It is bilingual and a considerable part of it has a clear majority of Kannada speaking people. There are at present ten *taluqs* in this district. Six of these *taluqs*, namely, Harpanahalli, Hadagalli, Hospet North, Hospet South, Sandur, and Siruguppa, have, each of them, a very large Kannada speaking population. Three *taluqs*, namely, Adoni, Alur, and Rayadrug, have each a large majority of Telugu speaking people. The remaining *taluq* of Bellary has a very mixed population and there are certain other factors also to be considered. The Government have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the three *taluqs* of Adoni, Alur and Rayadrug should form part of the new Andhra State and the six Kannada speaking *taluqs*, mentioned previously should form part of the Mysore State. In regard to Bellary *taluq*, Government propose to consider the matter further and come to a decision later.

One part of the Tungabhadra Project is situated in Hospet North *taluq*. The other part of it is in Hyderabad State. That part of the project in Hospet North *taluq* will thus be in Mysore State after the establishment of the Andhra State. This great project will feed not only those areas which go to the Mysore State but also some areas in Andhra State. Both these States will be especially interested in this scheme. Special arrangements should, therefore, be made for the joint control and supervision of the project by the State concerned in cooperation with the Central Government. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power will, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, the Planning Commission and the States concerned, work out the necessary financial and other arrangements and prepare a scheme for the purpose. Till the date of inauguration of the new State, the Madras Government will continue the work on the Tungabhadra Project, as before. From the 1st October, the States concerned will manage it with the assistance of the Central Government, in accordance with the scheme drawn up therefor. It is desirable that the work on the project should be continued under the present set-up till it is completed.

A Boundary Commission or Commissions will be appointed some time after the establishment of the Andhra State to determine the exact boundaries of that State and to recommend such adjustments as may be considered necessary in regard to the boundaries of that State with the residuary State of Madras and the Mysore State.

The question of services and the financial implications of the formation of the Andhra State will be considered separately later. As far as possible, the officers now serving in the Andhra area should continue. A committee of senior officers of the present Madras Government should, in consultation with an officer appointed by the Central Government, consider the adjustments that might be necessary between the Andhra State and the residuary State of Madras in respect of the services.

Legislation to give effect to the decision to form an Andhra State will be undertaken during the next session of Parliament. Before the introduction of such legislation, the views of the State Legislatures concerned will be obtained, as required under article 3 of the Constitution.

Government earnestly trust that the creation of this new State, so long desired by the people of Andhra, will take place in a spirit of friendly cooperation between all the people concerned, so that the State might start under the most favourable auspices and lead to the progress and happiness of its people. The formation of the new State should not and will not come in the way of the cultural life of the City of Madras in which the people of Andhra have had such a great share. Full assurances have already been given, by those in a position to give them, that educational, hospital and other facilities will continue to be open to the Andhras in Madras City.

I earnestly hope that the controversy, which has accompanied this issue of the formation of the Andhra State, will now end and our united efforts will be directed to the successful establishment and working of this State.

Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali): May I ask for clarification on certain points, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No questions are allowed.

SIXTH REPORT OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

Shri B. Das (Jajpur-Keonjhar): I beg to present the Sixth Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Hirakud Dam Project. [*Placed in Library. See* No. IV.O.O.(60).]

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

DEVELOPMENT COUNCILS (PROCEDURAL) RULES; TARIFF COMMISSION REPORT RE METAL AMINOPHENO-AND GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION THEREON

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I beg to lay on the Table, under subsection (4) of section 30 of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, a copy of the Development Councils (Procedural) Rules, 1952, published in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification No. S.R.O. 359, dated the 19th

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari]

February, 1953. [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-15/53.]

I also beg to lay on the Table, a copy of each of the following papers, under sub-section (2) of section 16 of the Tariff Commission Act, 1951:

(i) Report of the Tariff Commission on the Reduction of Import Duty on Meta-Aminophenol used in the manufacture of Para-Aminosalicylic Acid; and

(ii) Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Resolution No. 2(1)-T.B./52. dated the 14th March, 1953.

[*Placed in Library. See* No. IV.R.11a (24).]

REPORT OF DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual Report of the Damodar Valley Corporation, Part II, for 1950-51, under sub-section (5) of section 45 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948. [*Placed in Library. See* No. IV.M.4 (8).]

PEPSU BUDGET

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I rise to present a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union for the year 1953-54. [*Placed in Library. See* No. IV. O. 1(7a)]

This House is aware of the circumstances in which this Budget has to be presented to Parliament instead of to the State Legislature. The basis on which the estimates have been framed is explained in detail in the White Paper which was circulated with the Budget documents. The Budget has been framed on the existing basis of taxation and expenditure. It is difficult to say at this stage when the General Election in that State would be held and a Ministry start functioning. The Budget now presented will ensure the carrying on of the administration of the State till then. As the time available before the commencement of the new financial year is very short, I propose to invite the House to approve a Vote on Account to cover the expenditure for the first four months of the year and to pass the corresponding Appropriation Bill. As the Budget and the Demands for Grants will come up for detailed consideration of the House at a later stage I do not propose to make a detailed speech while presenting these estimates.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1952-53—PEPSU

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I present a statement showing Supplementary Demands for Grants for expenditure of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union for the year 1952-53. [*Placed in Library See* No. IV. O. 1(79e).]

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1952-53

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I present a Supplementary Statement of Expenditure of the Central Government (excluding Railways) for the year 1952-53. [*Placed in Library.* See No. IV. O. 1 (72f).]

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

DEMAND No. 11—Ministry of Defence

DEMAND No. 12—Defence Services, Effective—Army

DEMAND No. 13—Defence Services, Effective—Navy

DEMAND No. 14—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force

DEMAND No. 15—Defence Services, Non Effective Charges

DEMAND No. 16—Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Defence

DEMAND No. 114—Defence Capital Outlay

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further discussion and voting on Demands Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 114 for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence, moved on the 24th March, 1953.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): May I make a request to the Leader of the House? We have got just half an hour for the Defence discussion. It is rather an important subject. Would he therefore consider keeping over his reply till tomorrow? There is only half an hour left, because many things have been squeezed in today.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not a question of reply. The guillotine has to be applied at five o'clock. Therefore, without the reply the guillotine will be applied. I do not think it is possible. In Budget matters it is difficult to do so.

Shri Frank Anthony: So far as the Education Ministry was concerned, it was done. It can be done. Otherwise, a whole lot of people who hoped to talk on Defence will not have an opportunity.

The Prime Minister and Leader of the House (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It might make some difference, of course. I do not mind. But it would upset completely the programme for tomorrow which is very important. We have to consider two or three very important things; and if we carry over till tomorrow today's work, I do not know what will happen to tomorrow's work.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We will sit till eight today.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): As far as tomorrow is concerned, we are voting Vote on Account and Supplementary Demands at very short notice, and actually the Finance Minister has said that we shall have a later opportunity of going into the PEPSU Budget. So, tomorrow we do not object to the Prime Minister taking an hour, because it would give a greater opportunity to the Opposition to discuss the Defence budget today.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I am in your hands. I am not wholly acquainted with tomorrow's programme. I do not quite know.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: On Vote on Account there will not be any discussion. Then there is the PEPSU Budget. The hon. the Prime Minister, if he is present and if there is no inconvenience to him, can reply tomorrow.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well. Sir, I shall defer it till tomorrow—immediately after the Question Hour, I take it?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yes, immediately after Question Hour.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: May I seek a clarification from you, Sir? You said that on Vote on Account there will be no discussion. But the Rules provide for it. Only, it may not be very wide and comprehensive.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I only took it from the Leader of the Communist Party that there may not be much discussion. Not that the Rules do not permit it; the Rules permit it. But he himself suggested that these things are so small and the hon. the Prime Minister may do so. I am repeating what he said. But now he is taking exception to it.

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): The time for the other business should not be taken from tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Very well. We have decided. But if it is the will of the House that we may put off the Question Hour...

Hon. Members: No, no.

Col. Zaidi (Hardoi Distt.—North-West *cum* Farrukhabad Distt.—East *cum* Shahjahanpur Distt.—South): If the discussion is to finish at five o'clock, can there be a speech tomorrow?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It will be reserved only for the reply of the hon. Minister.

The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi): At the very outset I should like to assure the House that the intense interest shown by the hon. Members in the Defence problems of the country has not only helped me to educate myself in the task assigned to me but it has also, I am confident, heartened soliders in general. The soldier is essentially a bundle of emotions and he loves to be noticed and talked about. Parliament is unanimous in its desire that the soldiers, wherever they are, whether on ground, sea or sky, are always happy and contented. Their trust is great indeed. It is difficult normally to appreciate the services a soldier renders to the nation. So long as there is peace, people are apt to forget the value and worth of a soldier. It is only those who are either abroad or on the border that appreciate the blessings of the freedom of their mother country. I want to remind politicians that in the ultimate analysis it is their standing army which enables them to pursue their ambitious plans for the welfare and progress of their people. I should like to take this opportunity and send our warmest greetings to every individual soldier, wherever he is.

Before I enter into the discussion of the various points raised in the House yesterday I, as Minister in charge of their organisation, wish to give one assurance to all soldiers and officers engaged in our Army, Navy and Air Force ......

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): On a point of order. Can a Minister read out?

Hon. Members: Oh, yes.

Shri Tyagi: ......that their happiness and the well-being of their people and property which they have left behind shall ever remain as our foremost concern.

I am proud of the opportunity the Leader of the Nation has given me to come in the closest touch with those lakhs of souls who have pledged their bones and flesh to the cause of the nation's freedom. I know that I am taking a very great responsibility on my shoulders when I broadcast this overall assurance to all soldiers, sailors and airmen. I am confident that in this task I shall have the willing and ready co-operation from all the State Governments and their officers who will extend to the members of our Defence Forces, both past and present, their full sympathy and understanding in dealing with their affairs. Time was when each member of the Army, Navy or Air Force was considered to be the subject of a special concern of district and provincial authorities. Now a feeling is growing among our men that they are not paid the same attention which they had under their alien employers. It may be an unfortunate impression, but the impression is there. And I think it is time that we assure our boys, who are prepared to lay down their lives in the defence of the country when the call comes, to be free from the common anxieties and concerns in respect of their domestic land and property.

to reduce the expenditure of the Army

I need hardly emphasise the fact that while the present day warfare has begun to be based more and more on scientific advancement and mechanisation of all weapons of war and ammunition, the ultimate victory does still depend on the morale, physical and spiritual equipment, of the soldiers. A happy army always gives happy results. For well-nigh a century, politicians in India have, for political reasons, no doubt, decried the army as mercenary and have thereby divested the soldier of the little pride of his uniform. My Friend, Shri Gopala Rao asked me yesterday as to what steps had been taken to change the character of the Army. I think it is quite pertinent for Parliament to know what change has been effected. An army's character mostly depends upon the objectives for which it is enrolled, its mode of training and the manner in which its officers conduct themselves. There is another factor which I consider to be of greater importance and it is the attitude of the people at large towards a soldier. There are many in this House who have fought for about 30 years under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and have had the experience of a number of battles with the foreigner, and they will bear me out when I say that it was not only the intrinsic spirit of patriotism among them that enabled them to win their final battle for freedom but the greatest factor was the goodwill of the people as a whole. Surely it was not the lust for money or comforts that millions of Congress volunteers underwent all types of deprivations but it was the universal praise and admiration for their deeds that they sustained such a long-drawn battle.

Coming to the Defence Forces again, I must at once congratulate the officers in charge of the Army, Navy and Air Force that immediately as India became independent they rose to the occasion and adapted themselves promptly to the changed circumstances during the critical period of transition and after. Just imagine the number of British officers in command who had to leave suddenly. A number of gaps was created not only by the British officers who left but also quite a large number of other efficient officers, under the influence of communal fury chose to go across the border and our Defence forces were suddenly left as if they had paid a toll of a severe war. Alert to their duty, the Indian officers took up the command and re-organised their ranks with the result that by now we have rebuilt a force the like of which it is difficult to find near about. In certain respects we are recognised to be the best Army.

On the 1st of April 1948, there were 244 British officers including six Generals, 12 Brigadiers, 21 Colonels, 59 Lt. Colonels and 146 Majors, etc., in the Army. Today we have only 57 British officers—one Lt. General, two Majors General, six Brigadiers, four Colonels, nineteen Lt. Colonels and twenty-four Majors, etc. Of the 57 British officers today, 52 are specialists holding technical appointments in engineering, signal, electrical and mechanical engineering, technical development or training establishments. A planned programme of reduction has been drawn up according to which there would be no British officer left by 1955 except a few EME Technicians.

In the Navy, of course, complete Indianisation will take a longer time. While in July 1949, the Royal Indian Navy had 89 officers, we have only 46 British officers today and only nine in the Air Force. The above figures do not include civilians in the three services who are employed in instructional and technical establishments. Their number is as follows: Army 17, Navy 10, and Air Force 54.

Some hon. Members have mentioned that the Navy and the Air Force have not received the attention they deserve. I would invite attention of the House to the progressive increase in expenditure on these two services year by year. The expenditure on the Air Forces in 1951-52 was about Rs. 15 crores. The estimated expenditure during the current year is about Rs. 19 crores and the next year's budget is Rs. 25 crores. The House will agree that there has been substantial increase year by year. In the case of the Navy also, the expenditure has increased from year to year. In 1951-52 it was about Rs. 7½ crores and the current year's expenditure is likely to be about Rs. ten crores. In the next year it is about Rs. eleven crores. The development of these two services is proceeding according to plans. It will be appreciated that the speed of development depends on the availability of trained personnel and equipment. While the general attitude of hon. Members on both sides of the House has been one of admiration for the Defence Forces and they are concerned about their well-being, and they have also expressed a desire that Members of the Defence Forces should all feel contented. I am surprised at some friends who have indulged in heroics about hardships and conditions of service in the Army, about the salaries and allowances and other amenities of the personnel. I am afraid that they have not yet attempted to digest the information which my Ministry has given them from year to year on the improvement in conditions which we have already made. Although I admire the spirit which persuades them to emphasise these questions, I must warn my friends against the danger which this type of advocacy for the cause of the soldier might lead the nation into. I would very much like the soldier to retain the overall confidence that his sincere devotion to duty will always merit a fair consideration of his general interest at the hands of the Government. During the last five years, we achieved a suitable revision in the pay scales of the forces. We have provided them with some accommodation. We have devised suitable scales of accommodation. We have been trying to make their ration more scientific and bearing in mind the resources available in the country, we have tried to give them a balanced diet. With two-thirds of the forces coming to our share after partition, we got only one-third of land and accommodation. The position is much easier now as we have built appreciable accommodation for our troops. In terms of actual statestics what we have done is as follows. We have built accommodation for 1386 married and unmarried officers, JCOs and other ranks and 2087 are under construction. We have also raised the entitlement of married Havildars from one to two roomed quarters and of married JCOs from two to three roomed quarters. Electric lighting has been authorised for all ranks. JCOs Havildars and other ranks are authorised free use of electric fans which have already been installed and I propose to allow every year Rs. 4½ crores for accommodation. Although the sum is inadequate, considering how urgent other needs are, we hope that with these funds, we shall be able to break the back of the problem of accommodation in 15 years or so. We have also under our consideration a scheme for attracting private enterprise to supplement Government funds and efforts in the direction of buildings. Some State Governments have been able to promote building programmes under well considered schemes in this respect, and I am examining if it is possible for my Ministry to do the same.

Health: We have increased the facilities for the health and recreation of the personnel. Treatment of families is also allowed at the station and sick quarters and in M.I. Rooms. Treatment of families of air men in TB sanatorium is also arranged. Our sickness rate is the lowest in the World—below two per cent.

Leave: It is uniform in all the three services. Thirty days casual leave and 60 days annual leave is being given as a rule. In addition, sick leave is granted which counts as duty if spent in a recognised hospital.

Pensions: A feeling of hardship does subsist in the services on account of pension rates. The matter is under immediate consideration of Government. My hon. friend Mr. Jaipal Singh mentioned that there was a wide disparity between civilian and service pensions in respect of certain categories. I do not know how he arrived at these figures but I do not want to say much on the subject of service pensions as the whole question is now under consideration of Government. However, I would like to explain that a straightforward comparison between civilian and service pensions of other ranks is not possible. The civil rules, for instance, contemplate the civilian employees entering service at ages varying from 20 to 25 and completing 25 to 30 years of permanent service before being placed on the retired list. The position is, however, entirely different in respect of sepoys and naiks. These—together with JCOs and NCOs constitute more than 80 per cent.

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of the soldiers in the Army—join the service at an early age of 17 or 18 on a 15-year engagement. They thus retire at the age of 35 or less, when they are quite hale and hearty, and have had, besides the benefit of army training, in a number of cases, the benefit of technical training. They can therefore, reasonably be expected to earn their living by their own efforts, the Army pension constituting some financial aid. Mr. Jaipal Singh also suggested that the service personnel should not be placed at a disadvantage *vis a vis* the recommendations of the Gadgil Committee. This question also is under the consideration of Government, but all that I can say at this stage is that in respect of the overall pensionary benefit to the soldiers, it will be my endeavour to see that they are treated fairly and reasonably.

Socio-economic use of Defence Forces: Quite a lot has been said about the socio-economic use of the Defence Forces. There seems to be an impression that the Defence Forces can undertake the work of national development without any detriment to their training during peace time. The example of China has often been quoted in support of this contention. My submission in this connection is that the example of China is not quite relevant because the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army is not a small force like ours. When you have an Army just enough for your defence requirements, you cannot afford to detract it from its main task of defending the country. Training itself is a continuous affair. It is a different matter if you have resorted to a large scale conscription. Even in China where they have a large army, it is laid down in article 24 of the Common Programme of the Chinese Peoples Political Consultative Conference:

> "The Armed Forces of the Peoples Republic of China shall during peace time systematically take part in agricultural and industrial production to assist in national construction work on the condition of not hindering military task."

Having the same caution in mind, wherever it was possible, our armies have also come forward with hatchet and spades. I would give a few instances. One: Wherever there is land available, soldiers are required to grow foodgrains. The total area under such cultivation is 7500 acres and last year the produce was 4000 tons. Two: Troops were employed in the Rayalaseema and the Tamilnad, Madras from April to August 1952 on deepening of wells etc.

Shri Raghavaiah (Ongole): But, they have denied lands to ex-servicemen.

Shri Tyagi: Three: After the earthquake and floods in Assam, troops were employed to render aid in various ways to the people affected. Minor repairs to roads were undertaken. The Air Force dropped supplies wherever necessary. Four: In the Srinagar floods, Engineer units were employed in Kashmir in September-October 1950 for repairing and maintaining bunds, etc. Five: Anti-locust campaign in Rajasthan in 1951 as well as in 1952. Six: Construction of roads, canals and bridges on a number of irrigation projects in Punjab. Seven: Helped in the Beas bridge project. Eight: Helped in the Assam Rail link project. Nine: They are still constructing certain startegic roads and air fields on the eastern frontier. Ten: Also whenever there are big strikes like the one of transport service in Bombay, or dockyards, our troops have gone to their rescue.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): To break the strike.

Shri Tyagi: Of course, yes, to break the strikes when they are not needed.

An Hon. Member: Noble work.

Shri Tyagi: *Ammunition boots*: My hon. friend Mr. Patnaik mentioned yesterday that ammunition boots were purchased from a British firm and were not manufactured in the Ordnance factories. I have enquired into the matter, and I am informed that tenders were invited for the supply of ammunition boots and the lowest tender was accepted. In the Ordnance Factories, we have no special machines which could manufacture ammunition boots.

Revolvers and small arms: Mr. Patnaik also mentioned about the manufacture of rifles and guns for civilian use. Long ago, when I was in the Finance Ministry, I had suggested that our Ordnance factories should take up the manufacture of small arms for civil use. They have sent me a sample of a rifle which I hope will be liked both for quality and price by the people. I can assure the hon. Member that this point is already receiving Government's attention. The factory is now getting ready for manufacturing small arms for the use of the public.

My hon. friend Mr. Gadgil suggested that we should draw up a plan whereby in the time of emergency private industries might switch on for manufacture of defence needs. I think my Ministry already has some such plans to look further into this question.

My hon. friend Mr. Girraj Saran Singh, who has good experience of the Air Force, impressed me to be deeply biassed by the patriotic instinct of strengthening defence. I thank him for his speech and for his enthusiasm. I have noted a number of points out of his speech. My colleague Mr. Majithia has already replied in detail to the question of Sealands which he and Mr. Jaipal Singh had raised. Mr. Girraj Saran Singh also pressed that training in Air raid precautions should be given to the public at large. I am afraid it would create unnecessary alarm in the public mind. I think, situated as we are, today, there is the least danger of any power trying to trespass our skies.

Mr. Gopala Rao objected to our standing by our past undertaking to pay pensions to those British officers who have retired from service. I regret that I do not see eye to eye with him in the assessment of moral value.

He also said that our big ships were sent to the United Kingdom for repairs. It will be enough for me to say that his information is incorrect.

4 P.M.

Then, about Air squadrons. Lest some foreigner might believe Mr. Gopala Rao that we have only one squadron of Air Force, I hurry to contradict him. But it does not mean enough provocation to me to be drawn into giving out the exact number of our Air Force squadrons. It will suffice to say that there are many more than what my friend expects.

Shri Frank Anthony: That they already know. The Communists must know.

Shri Tyagi: Shri Alva read over the comments of President Roosevelt about the utility of small ships. He will be pleased to know that ours are mostly small ships. He also objected to our buying old British ships. When the market for new ships is closed altogether, we have to resort to old ones, but before we took any, we thoroughly examined its seaworthiness. He will be pleased to know that we are now going in for brand new ships. Smaller ships are manufactured in the Visakhapatnam Shipyard. He also mentioned about tankers. I share his anxiety. The Ministry of Transport are already considering to go in for three tankers and my Ministry is also negotiating for one which we will soon have in our possession.

My enthusiastic friend Shri Jaipal Singh made mention of Post-war Reconstruction Fund. I wonder if he also knows that these funds were not to be spent all at once. They were to be spread over 30 years. If my friend has something more to say, I will be glad to make further enquiries in the matter.

He also wanted to know as to what we mean by Rs. 43 lakhs for hire of transport. Out of this Rs. 43 lakhs, about Rs. 16 lakhs or so were spent on porters and ponies engaged in Kashmir and the rest is the hire of motor transport in East, West and South Commands. Here again, there is some element of transport of goods between Jammu and Kashmir. It is sometimes cheaper to hire motor transport than to use our own precious vehicles.

A demand has been made that all young men and women should be given compulsory military training. I wish it could be possible. But, as the House well knows, our finances would not permit such an ambitious enterprise. We have, however, given enough encouragement to the organisation of the National Cadet Corps which consists of three main wings, *viz.*, the Junior Division, the Senior Division and the Girls Division. The present strength of the Corps is 2,500 officers and about 78,000 cadets. The Central Government bears expenditure on the training staff and the supervisory organization, and also provides the equipment. Uniforms and other things are provided by the State Government. They bear the cost of the Uniforms and the running expenditure. Our policy is to increase the size of the National Cadet Corps as funds become available. Some State Governments are very keen on developing the organization and are prepared to find additional money, while other States are finding it difficult to put in more money in this direction. So that our auxiliary reserves may not be limited to urban areas, we have started another experimental scheme which we have named as the National Youth Movement. My hon. colleague, Shri Satish Chandra, is taking a keen interest in this organisation. It has been started in certain rural schools where young boys take to mass drill and physical training etc. A cheap uniform costing less than rupees ten only has been provided, generally at the cost of the institutions and the movement is catching imagination. Personally, I am of the view that it would perhaps be better if the educational authorities could agree to enforce some elementary rules of military discipline in all educational institutions. It would then create a general atmosphere of discipline in the country and raise the morale of the people.

[Shri Tyagi]

Shri Patnaik laid stress on creating auxiliary reserves. I am afraid the commitments of the Five Year Plan which my hon. colleague to my left, the Finance Minister, has already undertanken would not permit any fresh commitments. As soon as the political situation eases down, perhaps we may be able to make substantial savings from the Defence budget which could then be diverted to these fresh pursuits. My hon. friend Shri Patnaik is already on the Central Advisory Committee for the Territorial Army. I shall always look forward to his advice in the matter.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA *in the Chair*]

Turning now to defence industries, I am glad to observe the interest shown by the House in this subject. There is no difference at all between the Government and the critics as to the objective of producing all our de-equipment in the country as quickly as possible. Our achievements in this direction, which have not been publicised for obvious reasons, have been by no means negligible. Since 1948, our production for defence in our ordnance factories has increased in value from Rs. 8.3 crores to Rs. 27.5 crores. Over sixty new items including various types of ammunition, fuses, grenades etc., have been developed, and 40 more are under development The speed of progress in this direction has been quite gratifying, and will increase further. We have succeeded in training more personnel, and they have gained more experience. In fact it is because the ordnance factories have been so successful in meeting many of the requirements of the services during the last three or four years that some question of retrenchment of labour has now arisen

On this question, I would say that I am starting a drive for the maximum utilization of the capacity of our factories which is surplus to immediate defence requirements for the production of goods for other Departments of Government, and even for the civil industry. In this way, I hope that it will be possible for us to absorb a greater proportion of our labour which might otherwise have become surplus. But if, even after these measures, some labour remains surplus whether in ordnance factories or in ordnance depots, the Government cannot afford to go on paying idle time, and the unpleasant necessity may have to be faced. Not only is it my intention to minimise retrenchment of labour in ordnance factories if possible, but I mean to ensure that this labour works with maximum efficiency, and as a disciplined force. The importance of such a disciplined labour force for defence production so as to secure maximum efficiency and economy cannot be over-emphasized, and for this purpose, Government may have to consider how far such labour can be allowed to be exposed to various types of political exploitation.

Finally, in regard to defence production, I would only add that our speed is sometimes slowed down by the fact that civil production in the country is not yet sufficiently advanceed to produce all the basic materials, components and semi-manufactured parts which are required to complete defence production. From this point of view it has been our constant aim to expand civil production in directions which will be helpful also to meet the defence requirements of the country in an emergency. I think I have amply dealt with the points raised by Kakasaheb Gadgil and other Members about self-sufficiency of defence requirements.

Now, I come to economy. During the last two to three years, various proposals have been considered for effecting economy in defence expenditure. In December, 1951. Government appointed a Committee to explore the possibilities of economy by re-organisation of the Defence Forces without affecting their efficiency. The Committee submitted its interim report in April 1952. The recommendations were examined by our late lamented Defence Minister in consultation with the Service Chiefs and the Financial Advisor, and some decisions were taken. It will take some time before the decisions give their full effects. Here I am reminded of the liberties which I was taking till late as Minister of Revenue and Expenditure. In my enthusiasm to reduce the expenditure of the Army, I had once remarked on a file that I would rather disembowel myself than agree to such a huge expenditure. It is an irony of fate that I am now expected to swallow my remarks and face the realities of the situation. I can assure this House that in spite of the change of my room from North to South Block, I shall make my best efforts to effect economies without reducing the effectiveness of the Armed

Forces. The total saving which has been agreed to so far will eventually come to about Rs. 8.50 crores. I know that so long as the overall total of the Defence budget does not show any substantial reduction, hon. Members would continue doubting my claims of economy. But equipment and expansion of the Air Force, which we have taken in hand, are many times more fold to consume the savings which are effected.

The Defence Committee of the Cabinet have directed that the possibilities of further economies in Defence expenditure should be reviewed every six months. I am asking this Armed Forces Reorganization Committee to pursue their efforts.

In the end, I only wish to assure the House and the people outside, that our Defence Forces today are well-equipped, well-trained and well-disciplined. It will be my constant endeavour to maintain and improve their efficiency as a strong fighting force. They have got a difficult role to perform, and while it is not my intention to withhold any information from the House, which can be given to it without detriment to the safety and security of the country, the House will appreciate that imparting of all kinds of information sometimes adds further to the difficulties of the Armed Forces. I would therefore commend a certain amount of self-restraint to be exercised by hon. Members when they ask for information.

Mr. Chairman: About 42 minutes more remain. There are very many speakers who are anxious to speak. Therefore, I would request hon. Members to take as short a time as possible. I would suggest that each hon. Member shall finish within ten minutes.

Shri Nambiar: While thanking you for the time given, I have to request you that I should be given the full quota of my time. It is my lot to speak just after Mr. Tyagi's long typed-out speech, in which he had made certain references to the life, living and service conditions of the army personnel. I have also to make a mention about Sardar Majithia's references yesterday wherein he said that the O.R.'s in the Armed Forces are getting a pay of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a month. But I have to tell him that what he said is absolutely wrong. It is unbecoming of a Minister to make a statement without going through his own Ministry's publications. On page 117 of the Defence Service Estimates—published by his own Ministry it is stated, a trained soldier in Group F in Class three gets a pay of Rs. 25 only. I would request him to read it again. He might have become a Minister only very late, and so may not know the truth. On that page, it is stated:

> "(v) Other Ranks and Non-combatants (Enrolled:—
>
> (a) Trained Soldier Pay:—
> (Lowest Rank)

Group	Class 3	Class 2	Class 1
F	25	30	35"

In the footnote on the same page it is stated:

> "Increment of pay for man's service is admissible to Other Ranks excluding JCOs and WOs but including Non-Commissioned Officers at the rate of Rs. 2-8-0 per month after five years man's service, and a further Rs. 2/8/- per month after ten years man-service"

He says that the total emoluments of an O. R. at present are Rs. 135 including the shaving allowance, the barber's allowance, and the washerman's allowance. Are not this Government ashamed to say that including the barber's and the washerman's allowance, the O. R. is getting about Rs. 135 or so? They are only confusing the people with wrong information. I can quote with authority, that 50 per cent. of the O.R.'s in the Army get a pay between Rs. 25 and Rs. 45. and an allowance which is just at half of the rate which the civilians get. So also for the Navy, 70 per cent. of the ratings are, in Group 'C'—the hon. Minister may not know what Group 'C' is—or less, getting a pay of Rs. 44. In the case of airmen, the majority are in Groups III, IV, and V starting with a pay of Rs. 32. A clerk of the lowest rank gets Rs. 48 and a technician airman who is highly skilled gets Rs. 60/- only, whereas a highly skilled artisan outside gets above Rs. 100.

An Hon. Member: He has his own clothes and his own food.

Shri Nambiar: They are boasting about the clothes and the food that they are giving, and at the same time saying that the army is not to be called a "mercenary army." But if you do want the army to be reduced to a

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mercenary army, then boast about the food and clothing you give. It is absolutely your duty to feed them. They have come some 2000 to 3000 miles away from their homes and are serving in distant places, and do you want them to pay for their rations from their own pay of Rs. 25? You claim that 'we are paying them, we are feeding them, and we are giving them clothes'. I ask you: In what country are rations included in the pay? In no country is it like that. So let us not confuse the people saying this. Pay is differnet from allowance, and ration allowance is different. Do not confuse it. This is the real situation. The analysis of your own figures shows that the ordinary O. R. in the army gets only thirteen times less than an officer on an average. That is an officer is paid thirteen times more than an O. R. He starts with a pay of Rs. 350, ending with Rs. 3000. Sardar Majithia disputed the point saying 'Where does the army officer get Rs. 3000?' Let him open his eyes and go through these books, and he will see that.

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): I never said that. I said that these officers start off at a very much lower scale. It is only the higher ranks that get more.

Shri Nambiar: You have stated that, and it is there on record. Let him read it again. So what I say is let us not confuse the issue. The army personnel would help the country better, if they are well looked after, and if there is contentment among them. Let not hon. Members think that we are grievance-mongering here in order to create a situation. There is the situation already created, which is there.

About their food, the less said the better. They are given the worst quality of food. The contractors and certain corrupt officers are minting money out of these rations. Let the Government understand this. There is no use of forgetting it or bypassing it, for it is a reality. There are certain mess committees, but these so-called mess committees never function, and even if they meet, no armyman is allowed to raise his finger against the mess management. If he does so, he is punished and victimised. I can quote to you several cases, but unfortunately I have not got the time to do so.

As for the quarters, it is said that they are given good accommodation. But I shall give you the facts. The family quarters of naval ratings in Bombay are located 15 miles off, without any transport. In IAF Station, Jullundur, family quaters are located 16 miles off from camp, without any transport. In Signal Centre, Jubbulpore, men live in asbestos sheds with uncemented flooring. At Santa Cruz, Bombay, married quarters are just thatched huts condemned by M.E.S. At Palam Delhi, there is one latrin for 15 to 20 families. That is the position of the quarters of the airmen here. It is only a few miles away from here, and let Sardar Majithia go there and see what is the position.

So far as medical aid and maternity facilities are concerned, the medical aid given is such that no army man under normal circumstances will go to the military hospital. For families of the O.R.'s, there is nothing like a maternity air for them. Several deaths have been reported. In family wards of **Poona Military Hospital,** children are kept in chains, and parents are not allowed to go there.

Sardar Majithia: That is not a fact, Sir.

Shri Nambiar: Many more things you are going to hear. With regard to the working hours, there is nothing like fixed hours of duty. They are asked to work continuously for days and nights together. Whenever an armyman understands that an officer or a Minister is coming there for a visit, he is very much afraid of it, because he will have to undergo all sorts of parades. So he will only curse the Minister who goes there, and say 'Let him not come'.

With regard to the security of service. I can say that for no reason whatsoever, for flimsy reasons, they are discharged from service. Yesterday I told Mr. Tyagi that there are instances of discharge for the slightest reason. I have got a case here. I have got a letter from my friend from Bangalore. It reads thus:

> "AC Narayan Kutty, Driver Motor Transport of Training Command, IAF Bangalore, was discharged sometime in January 1953 for the simple reason that he met Anandan Nambiar, MP from Tamilnad".

Here is another instance, on the same matter.

Shri G. P. Sinha (Palamau *cum* Hazaribagh *cum* Ranchi): On appoint of order, Sir. I would like to know whether he is his political friend or personal friend.

Shri Nambiar: A rule of terror and victimization is let loose inside the Armed Forces which has sent a wave of alarm among the ranks leading to their demoralization, and a sense of insecurity prevails. All the left parties have been specifically notified as subversive. "A serving personnel was sacked because he dared to meet Anandan Nambiar MP—a typical example of witch-hunt."

Men have been forced to make statements against themselves under torture. Men complaining about officers using abusive language were hauled up on charges of being disrespectful, and disobedient to officers. Men have been discharged from the services without being given any reason, without being given a chance to prove their innocence before a properly constituted court.

These are the facts, Sir. I have taken only eight minutes.

Mr. Chairman: Ten minutes.

Shri Nambiar: I am taking the apportioned time of my Group.

Mr. Chairman: There is no question of apportionment per speaker. The apportionment is, I should say, on an over-all view of the matter and does not mean that every Member can claim that he is entitled to so many minutes. I want to see that at least three other Members speak. There is now time only for three Members. I rang the bell after ten minutes.

Shri Nambiar: I have said......

Mr. Chairman: Other Members will have to speak. They will not be able to speak. I will allow the hon. Member two minutes more.

Shri Nambiar: About discipline and punishment much is stated. I can say that there are instances where within 24 hours the men concerned were removed from the barracks without giving them any opportunity to argue the case before a court martial. The so-called court martial they have is not a court martial in the real sense of the term and he is not given any chance to reply. He is treated to third-degree methods. Even near the Parliament Building there was a recent case of a Havildar being beaten. I know the case, and we brought it to the notice of this House also through a question.

The relation between the officer and the OR, I have submit, is not very good at all. It is far from satisfactory. The O.Rs. are treated by the offences as slaves. I do not mean that every officer is bad, but I say a large number of officers are still of the old bureaucratic type and they are following the same tradition. It will be ridiculous to see that an officer's wife will not mix with an OR's wife. That is the sort of separation. That is the sort of relationship between the OR and the Officer. Such being the case, I do not know how this Army is going to be an army with morale. I am all for having a good army with a better morale. But that morale is not there and something must be done.

I am finishing Sir. I have to submit the following programme to improve morale:

(1) An Inquiry Commission composed of all sections of this House should be set up to go into the living and service conditions of our army men.

(2) Security of service—proper defence in enquiries—the present set-up of court-martials should be radically altered.

(3) Change of rules of pensions, Provident Fund, Gratuity, Release benefits and other allowances.

(4) Abolition of the present Pay Code rules—Guarantee of reasonable pay and allowances.

(5) Regular and periodical promotions—downgrading to be stopped—the question of the downgrading of 4000 Havl-Clerks to be reviewed.

(6) Total daily working hours to be not more than eight hours.

(7) Accommodation to be improved—together with family quarters and proper facilities to the family members.

(8) Civic rights and proper democratic functions of the welfare committees, mess committees etc.

(9) Radical change of the attitude of the officers towards ORs—Officers misbehaving towards ORs should be punished—sense of security to be instilled in the minds of ORs, and

(10) Witch-hunt and spying in the name of fighting subversive activities should be ended.

[Shri Nambiar]

These are the ten points which I submit to the Ministry with the hope that our Army must be improved and something must be done, not with the hope that our Army must be disrupted.

Then, it is said that we on this side are against a good Army. It is not so.

Mr. Tyagi said yesterday that there would be no retrenchment of the civilians employed in Defence Establishments. But you might have seen in today's papers that 5000 employees are threatened to be retrenched. If he is prepared to give me an assurance that they will not be retrenched, I am prepared to accept it.

I have certain points to make about the hill allowance to be given to ordnance employees. In the hill areas, especialy in Arvangadu in Madras State, the hill allowance has to be increased and paid to all employees. The Acetone Plant at Arvangadu should be fully utilized so that retrenchment can be avoided. I am prepared to give him a memorandum containing the grievances of the ordnance depot staff and I hope that he will go through it and see that their grievances are redressed.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Frank Anthony, I will request him to finish within the apportioned time.

Shri Frank Anthony: I feel that this Defence debate has been largely unreal, The fault has not been ours. It has been due to the way in which the Defence estimates are usually presented to this House.

This House has been asked to pass a budget sum which comprises almost half our total Budget, and yet in this very brief statement that has been supplied to us we have not been given any real facts. I say this with all respect that this statement which has been supplied to the Members of this House constitutes little short of an insult to this House. I am sorry neither the Prime Minister nor the Defence Minister is here, but this statement seems to be conceived in a spirit of: "Well, why should we supply the necessary information to the Members of Parliament?" After all, some Members of the Treasury Bench will trot out the usual hackneyed bogey of secrecy and public interest and so on and the House will pass it. It may have been conceived in an even more reprehensible spirit—after all, the majority of the Members of this House are non-violent vegetarians who are not supposed to know anything about Defence.

I respectfuly submit—I am sorry that the Prime Minister is not here—that this House is the ultimate guardian of Defence. We have the right to know a certain minimum of detail and if the Prime Minister thinks that Defence should not be discussed in an open House, then we should adjourn to an *in camera* session. I think that civilian consultation is absolutely vital, if we are not to continue the old pattern and psychology and the old policy with regard to the Army. I know I am racing against time. But I respectfully submit for the consideration of the Prime Minister that the whole concept of Indian defence must change. In the past, necessarily our defence was tied to British standards and the British concept of strategy. But I have an uncomfortable feeling that our Defence Department still continues to be tied to the British concept of defence. I feel that the time has come for a radical change. Our policy must now be tied to Asiatic theories and must be suited to Asiatic conditions. What is the British concept of defence? Because there is an acute shortage of manpower in Britain, the emphasis is less on men and more on equipment, because theirs is a highly industrialised society. This is also the concept of American defence —less emphasis on manpower, more emphasis on equipment. But we cannot possibly emulate either the British or the American example. Let us not talk glibly in this House or outside of fire power. The pre-requisite of fire power is industrial power, and until we have adequate industrial power, there is no good people repeating glib phrases and cliches about fire power. That does not mean that we cannot build up an adequate and effective defence machinery. We can do it if we follow the Japanese, and the more recent Chinese, example. What have the Chinese people achieved in Korea? They had no air support. They had very little artillery. I was reading an article where it was said that the Americans had fire power about ten times that of the British and 100 times that of the Chienese 'gooks', as they call them. Yet the 'gooks' without any air support, without any artillery, not only stopped the Americans but they overran them.

And they did it by placing emphasis on superiority in man-power, on small arms and on manoeuvrability. In this respect, I want to know whether we are placing sufficient emphasis on these aspects of defence which suit us, whether there is sufficient emphasis on small arms. I am sorry that Mr. Tyagi is not here but this

House has the right to know what is the small arms position in India. Are we producing our own rifles, are we producing our own ammunition, are we producing our own automatic weapons, are we producing our own hand-grenades? We have a right to know this. And, if we are not producing them, I want to know why we are not producing them. When I was a member of the National Defence Council in 1944. I visited the railway workshops and they were turning out thousands and thousands of shells and hand-grenades. In six months we were capable of doing it. I visited Tatas. They were turning out first class steel. But only because it was an Indian firm, the Australians, while they were producing inferior steel were being asked to manufacture tank frames for the Army but Tatas were not given the same facility. I want to know what the Small Arms position is. Is there any shortage of material, is there a lack of necessary energy in the country? I should like to know this.

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Satish Chandra): The position is very satisfactory. We have got surplus stocks of small arms like rifles. We have produced them in large quantities.

Shri Frank Anthony: This is vague.

Shri Satish Chandra: This is not vague. Why the hon. Member is so much agitated over it? We are faced with the problem of retrenchment in the ordnance factories due to overproduction in some of these articles.

Shri Frank Anthony: We want a categorical reply and not general, vague and unsatisfactory statements. I want to know from the Minister whether the money that we are spending on heavy equipment is being properly spent. There is a general feeling in this country that the tanks we are buying, the aeroplanes we are buying, the heavy equipment we are buying is only second best or even obsolete. Is obsolete equipment being bought only because we feel that there should be a complement of heavy equipment. Are we following the British? Even today the British government have cut down their defence expenditure. Under what plea? That if they produced their maximum of equipment this year, next year some of that equipment will become obsolete. We have no fear that our equipment will become obsolete next year. (*Interruption.*) Much of it was probably obsolete before the end of the last war. I want to know what our policy is. I feel that in this respect we could effect very great economies if the Government policy is to concentrate on small arms. If we, like the British, postpone expenditure on heavy equipment, we can, I say, effect economies of many crores in our Defence expenditure.

With regard to the Air Force, I submit that what has been not told us is more important than what has been told us. Mr. Tyagi confirmed my suspicions. He refused to be drawn into stating how many squadrons we have got. I do not understand this shroud of secrecy. Even when the British were here they did not do so. When Mr. Chandulal Trivedi was the Defence Secretary he had no hesitation in giving us an answer that we had target of ten squadrons, but that we were moving very slowly towards that target because we could not get the right type of youngmen coming forward. Now when we are working as an independent country, we cannot get the necessary information. You will not tell us whether we still have a target of ten squadrons, whether it it is less or more, whether we cannot get the necessary material, whether it is so because we cannot get the necessary men. We have to know these things before we pass the budget of about Rs. 200 crores.

I want to know what kinds of planes we are using. There is a general feeling in this country that the planes are somewhat obsolete; there is a feeling that our Air Force is only a token Air Force and, God forbid, that if we are attacked by China they will shoot our planes out of the skies in 24 hours. We want to know this. This House is the supreme guardian of the defences of this country. We have a right to know all these details, as I said, before we pass this budget.

You have not told us anything really about the Army. We read statements about the American and British Armies. They tell us how many units they have got, what is their strength and what their target is. You will not tell us anything. Why? Do you think that this disclosure of our strength will upset the balance of world power? I do not understand these things. How do you expect this House blindly, without knowing whether you have got a policy, to pass the budget of Rs. 200 crores? What is your policy? We have various types of commissions, the King's Commissioned Officers, ICOs and others. Why have you got these "Kashmir Commissioned Officers"? Why have you suddenly got this new type of officer? You give them a Commission for one year. Only the unemployed or unemployable will come forward for these Commissions for one year; you are getting these types into the officer ranks of the Army. Only third class

[Shri Frank Anthony]

people, Babus will come into your one year Commission. You can shake your head; I too can shake my head more vigorously, which will lead to no conclusion.

Sardar Majithia: We have first class men in the Army.

Shri Frank Anthony: Then I would refer to the Territorial Army. I say we cannot attempt to reduce our regular Army unless we are able to have adequate reserves. Our reserves are essentially synonymous with the Teritorial Army. Once again, in this pamphlet you tell us nothing. As far as I am aware in 1951, the target for the Teritorial Army was 130,000. It was a hopelessly inadequate and dangerously inadequate target. 130,000 people for a country like this. You have not told us whether the target fixed in 1951 has yet been reached. I do not say that we should emulate China. In 1951, according to an official statement, China had a regular Army of four million and a militia of five million. Today their first line strength is about ten million. We have a comparatively very small regular Army. We cannot reduce it. What is happening to the Territorial Army? Because you have got separate provincial organisations, the Prantiya Raksha Dals and the Home Guards. You will not be able to build up a Territorial Force. They are squeezing it out. There is also this danger. When you have different political parties in charge in the different States, these Raksha Dals are likely to become political armies. If the Prime Minister were here I would make an earnest and passionate appeal to him to scrap all these Raksha Dals and Home Guards and to concentrate on the Territorial Army and bring it up to a minimum figure of two million.

I am sorry that the Minister of Defence Organisation is also not here. I wanted to say a word about the disability and widow pensions. They are extremely inadequate and I feel that something will have to be done about these pensions. This applies not only to the officers but also to the men. An army officer is in a most unfavourable position compared with his opposite number in civilian service. Most of them will have to retire as Majors. There is a rule that unless they become substantive Lt. Colonels by the age of 45 they cannot go further. As Majors they should get at least half their basic pay, which is Rs. 700 as a pension. I want to say this to the Minister of Defence Organisation, Shri Tyagi. I think he was referred to as Second Lieutenant. The remark was in bad taste. Whether he was a Second Lieutenant or a Naik or a Lance-Naik it does not matter. He has got what I value greatly sound common-sense

श्री भक्त दर्शन (ज़िला गढ़वाल—पूर्व व ज़िला मुरादाबाद—उत्तर पूर्व): मैं अपना यह परम सौभाग्य समझता हूं कि देश के प्रतिरक्षा-मंत्रालय के अनुदान के सम्बन्ध में मुझे आने बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया है। आज इस अवसर पर मुझे भारतीय सेना के उज्ज्वल भविष्य की सुन्दर याद आती है और वह जमाना भी मुझे स्मरण हो आता है जिस जमाने में हमारी सेना अंग्रेजों की वेतनभोगी सेना थी; उस समय भी भारतीय सेना ने अपने देशप्रेम का अटूट परिचय दिया था और आज इस अवसर पर मैं अपने उन वीर भाइयों की याद करना चाहता हूं जिन्होंने कि सन् १९३० के सत्याग्रह-अन्दोलन के अवसर पर पेशावर में निहत्थी जनता के ऊपर गोली चलाने से इन्कार कर दिया था, मेरा मतलब उन गढ़वाली सैनिकों से है जिन्होंने कि देश भर में सब से पहिले भारतीय सैनिकों के अन्दर देशप्रेम की ज्वाला को प्रज्ज्वलित किया था। उसके बाद भारत के वे सैनिक भी वन्दना के योग्य, जिन्होंने नेताजी श्री सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अध्यक्षता में आजाद हिन्द फौज के अन्दर कार्य किया था।

और अब तो स्वाधीनता मिलने के बाद हमारा प्रत्येक सैनिक देश का एक प्रतिरक्षक सेवक बन गया है।

अभी हमारे मित्र श्री नम्बिआर साहब ने अपने भाषण के अन्दर बहुत सी बातें बतलाईं कि हमारे सैनिकों के अन्दर तरह तरह के असन्तोष हैं। मैं स्वयं एक छावनी में रहने वाला व्यक्ति हूं और उस इलाके का प्रतिनिधित्व करता हूं जिस ने भारतीय सेना के लिये हजारों की संख्या में सैनिक दिये हैं।

समय-समय पर मुझे भी सैनिकों और अफसरों से मिलने का अवसर मिलता है और मैं विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूं कि आज भारतीय सैना के अफसरों के अन्दर और सैनिकों के अन्दर अपने देश के लिये त्याग और तपस्या और बलिदान करने की पूरी भावना विद्यमान है। वे इस प्रकार के असन्तोष के शिकार नहीं हैं, जिस प्रकार की बातें श्री नम्बिआर सहाब ने यहां कही हैं।

यद्यपि यहां पर प्रतिरक्षा-संगठन के मंत्री श्री त्यागी जी नहीं हैं लेकिन फिर भी मैं परोक्ष रूप में उन्हें बधाई देना अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूं। उन का सैनिक जीवन का अनुभव इस बात को बतलाता है कि हमारी सैना की समस्यायें बहुंत अच्छी तरह हल होंगी। जो उन्होंने इस सदन के सामने अपना भाषण दिया है उस से भी मालूम होता है कि कुछ ही दिनों के अन्दर उन्होंने भारतीय सेना के संगठन का वहुत गहरा अध्ययन कर लिया है और हमें यह पूरी आशा है कि अपने सैनिक अनुभव के द्वारा, और उस से अधिक अपने वित्त विभाग के राज्य-मंत्री के रूप में जो कार्य वह कर चुके हैं उस के अनुभव के द्वारा वह अपने नाम को सार्थक करेंगे। उन का शुभ नाम है "श्री महावीर त्यागी"। उसी प्रकार हमारी सैना भी वीर है और मुझे विश्वास है कि अपने कार्यों से वह उस सेना को वीर से महावीर बनाने में सफल होंगे। इस के साथ ही साथ वह अपने त्यागी नाम को भी सार्थक करेंगे और कई करोड़ रुपया बचा कर हमारे देश के जो विकास-कार्य हैं उन में खर्च करने के लिये देंगे। इस आशा के साथ में उन को फिर बधाई देना चाहता हूं।

मेरे पास समय बहुत कम है, इस लिये मैं केवल कुछ विषयों की ओर ही अपने प्रति रक्षा मंत्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। आज चीन की जो नई साम्यवादी सरकार है उस के साथ हमारे देश के बहुत ही मित्रतापूर्ण सम्बन्ध हैं, लेकिन इस का यह मतलब नहीं कि उन के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध कभी भी खराब नहीं हो सकते। आम लोगों की यह धारणा है कि उत्तर दिशा में जो हिमालय के उत्तुंग शिखर हैं वे अभेद्य प्राचीर का कार्य कर रहे हैं। पिछले जमाने में यह बात सच हो सकती थी, लेकिन आज जब कि वायु सेना का युग है तब हमारे हिमालय की अभेद्यता समाप्त हो चुकी है। मैं आप के सामने कुछ ऐसे तथ्य रखना चाहता हूं जिन से आप को मालूम होगा कि हमारे हिमालय के दूसरी ओर बहुत से ऐसे कार्य इस बीच में हुए हैं जिन से हमारी सरकार को बहुत सतर्क होने कि आवश्यकता है।

कुछ दिन पहले आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि तिब्बत की सरकार ने हिमालय का जो भारतीय मैदान है उस के कुछ हिस्सों के बारे में भी दावा किया है। आप को सुन कर आश्चर्य होगा कि श्री बद्री नाथ पुरी, जो हमारे भारत वर्ष का इतना प्रसिद्ध तीर्थ स्थान है उस से भी दो मील नीचे कंचन गंगा स्थान तक तिब्बत के लोगों ने अपना झंडा गाड़ने की कोशिश की है। इस के साथ ही टेहरी-गढ़वाल की नीलंग घाटी के ऊपर भी उन्होंने अपना दावा किया है। इस के अतिरिक्त आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि हमारे जो यात्री कैलाश मानसरोवर की यात्रा के लिये गये थे उहोंने बतलाया है कि भारतीय सीमा से केवल तीन मील की दूरी पर ताकला कोट मंडी पर चीनी सेनाओं ने अपनी क़िलेबंधी प्रारम्भ कर दी है।

कुछ और भी घटनाओं की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। पिछली गर्मियों में शायद इस सदन को नहीं मालूम होगा कि हमारे देश के दो नागरिक गारतोक में नजरबन्द कर दिये गये थे। एक का नाम श्री बुद्धबोस था, जो कलकत्ते के प्रसिद्ध सिनेमा

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

निर्माता हैं और जिन्होंने कैलाश—मानसरोवर के कई चित्रों का निर्माण किया है, उन को नजरबन्द किया गया था और हमारे वाणिज्य दूत की लिखा-पढ़ी के फलस्वरूप उन को रिहा किया गया । इस के अतिरिक्त श्री हरिशचन्द्र चन्दोला, जो कि "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" के संपादकीय विभाग में काम करते हैं वह भी यात्रा के लिये गये थे उनको भी नजरबन्द किया गया था । इस प्रकार की घटनायें पश्चिमी तिब्बत में होती रहती हैं । मैं केवल यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि यद्यपि हमारा विश्वास है कि चीन के साथ हमारे बड़े मित्रता पूर्ण सम्बन्ध हैं, लेकिन इस कारण हम हिमालय की ओर अपने रक्षा साधनों को उन्नत न करें, इस गलतफ़हमी को हमें दूर करना है ।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूं और वह यह हैं कि उत्तर में जो हमारे प्रसिद्ध दर्रे हैं जैसे जोहार, दारमा, नीति माण नीलंग, तथा हिमाचल प्रदेश के जो चीनी और लाहौल दर्रे हैं उन की ओर सुन्दर मार्ग बनाये जाने चाहियें । आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि लासा, जो तिब्बत की राजधानी है वहां से मानसरोवर तक १२०० मील लम्बी सड़क तिब्बत की सरकार बनाने जा रही है । हमारे यहां यह हाल है कि जोशीमठ और बाम्पा के बीच ४२ मील सड़क बन गई है, लेकिन कोई मनुष्य या सैनिक उससे आगे नहीं जा सकता, जो जाता है वह अपनी जान को हथेली पर ले कर ही जाता है ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि कम्यूनिकेशन अर्थात् संवाद-परिवहन की व्यवस्था वहां बहुत ही असुविधाजनक है । में आप के सामने इस बात को दोहाराना चाहूंगा कि जोशीमठ से आगे जा कर आप ने बाम्पा में पोस्ट आफिस बनाया है, दोनों के बीच की दूरी ४२ मील है वहां उत्तर प्रदेशीय सरकार का चैक पोस्ट भी है, लेकिन वहां हफ्ते में एक ही दिन डाक जाने का प्रबन्ध है । भगवान न करे अगर कोई विपति आ जाय तो कैसे वहां पर संवाद जल्दी से पहुंचाया जा सकता है ? इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर संवाद-परिवहन की समुचित व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये ।

इसी प्रकार से मैं एक सुझाव और देना चाहता हूं कि एक ओर पश्चिमी तिब्बत में स्थान स्थान पर वहां की नई सरकार क़िलेबन्दी कर रही है । और दूसरी ओर आप को यह जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि हमारे पर्वतीय इलाके की जितनी भी छावनियां हैं वह क़रीब क़रीब खाली पड़ी हैं । अभी उस दिन प्रश्नोत्तर काल में हमारे रक्षा मंत्री ने बतलाया था कि कई करोड़ रुपयों की योजना हमारी सरकार ने बनाई है जिसके द्वारा हमारे सैनिकों के लिये नई बैरक्स बनाई जायेंगी । मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि आप नई बैरक्स तो बनाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन हमारे यहां जो बहुत सी छावनियां बरबाद हो रही हैं उन के लिये ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है । मैं आशा करता हूं कि उन के लिये उचित व्यवस्था की जायेगी ।

मेरा अंतिम सुझाव यह है कि हमें अपने युवकों और अफसरों को हिमालय के अभियानों पर जाने के लिये उत्साहित करते रहना चाहिये । पिछले वर्ष मेजर जनरल विलियम्स की अध्यक्षता में एक अभियान दल हिमालय के कामेट पर्वत-शिखर की तरफ गया था । हमें इस से बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई थी । किन्तु उस अभियान-दल के एक सदस्य लेफ़्टिनेन्ट भगत का देहान्त हो जाने के कारण वह अभियान खत्म हो गया । उन के देहान्त

होने का कारण यह था कि उस अभियान-दल के साथ कोई डाक्टर नहीं था । अगर यह बात सत्य है तो मैं समझता हूं कि यह प्रारम्भिक भूल थी और भविष्य में जब भी कोई अभियान दल भेजे जायें, और वह भेजे जाने चाहिये, ताकि हमारे युवकों की प्रवृति इस ओर हो सके, तब इस बात का ध्यान रक्खा जाना चाहिये । आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि एवरेस्ट की चोटी पर तरह-तरह के दल विदेशों से जा रहे हैं और अपने देशों के झंडे फहरा रहे हैं । मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे देश की सरकार इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करेगी कि हमारे देश के युवक ऐसे स्थानों पर जायें और राष्ट्रीय पताका फहरायें ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय ने जो अनुदान की मांगें रक्खी हैं उन का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूं ।

Shri Amjad Ali (Goalpara-Garo Hills): When we begin to think of Indian defence, our attention is naturally revetted on our eastern border. To our east lies Burma, and in spite of Burma being a free and independent country and also a State friendly to us, she is our weak neighbour. She is frequently facing troubles from outside and is struggling to maintain quiet in the country. The entry of Chinese K.M.T. forces from the province of Yunan and the perpetual Karen troubles within her own territory are instances in point.

Only yesterday, I read a report in the *Statesman*, which gives the opinion of Mr. Bevan who recently visited Burma. This is what that message says:

> "Obtaining first-hand knowledge of the activities of Chinese Nationalist Forces during his recent visit to Burma, Mr. Bevan is understood to have told the members of his party that he was convinced that the Chinese operating in north-east Burma were not Communists but received direct orders from General Chiang-Kai-shek.
>
> According to Mr. Bevan's colleagues, he strongly believed that the USA financed and encouraged General' Chiang Kai-shek's forces and he viewed this act of the USA as amounting to helping a member State of the UN invade a friendly State.
>
> Mr. Bevan estimated that there were nearly 10,000 to 12,000 Kuomintang troops in north-east Burma bordering Yunan province who had received reinforcements of men and arms from Formosa through Thailand.
>
> He also feels, according to his colleagues, that pressure must be put on the U. S. Government by Britain to give urgent consideration to the situation in north-east Burma and help end violation of territory by member nations of the U. N."

The problem that faces Burma today will naturally have to be looked into in the interest of India also. The problem of defence of our eastern frontiers does not present much difficulty if only we look into it objectively. For, the defence of a region does not always depend upon armed forces. The contented and well-developed tribals in the frontiers are a powerful bulwark against any foreign aggression and a natural defence of borders. The entire eastern frontiers are inhabited by law-abiding, disciplined border tribes, like the Nagas, Khamtis, Lushais, Abors. Miri, Mishmi, Mikir, Aka and Dafla races. They are a sturdy, extremely loyal and loveable sort of people. The only thing they need is our humane treatment to them. Giving more attention to their development and future well being should be our concern. That will mean solid work. Let them feel that they are our own and India is their homeland.

The forthcoming meeting between the Indian and Burmese Prime Ministers on the Indo-Burma borders will surely throw spot-light on the feather-crested tribal nagas, eastern and Burma's North-west frontier. In this connection, I would read out an editorial comment from the *Hindustan Standard*:

> "A joint tour of the Indo-Burmese border areas will, it is reported, be shortly undertaken by the Prime Ministers of India and Burma. One of the objects in view is consultation regarding demarcation of undefined boundaries between the two countries. Security problems are no less important, since there are active Com-

[**Shri Amjad Ali**]

> munist elements in contiguous areas in both the countries. Besides these, tribal unrest has on occasions been manipulated by foreign interests. No serious threat to security may arise so long as India and Burma jointly maintain vigilance and avoid being drawn into the war in the Far East. The presense of so many diverse elements capable of causing trouble in these remote regions naturally calls for close coordination of security measures between India and Burma. The risks of infiltration are well-known; it is equally important to prevent such provocative incidents as might be exploited by foreign Powers against the interests of these two lands."

Closely associated with it is our relationship with China. Our relationship with China has been always friendly. But the ideological differences are there and in the event of world war III, the alignment of China may be with powers which may not be well disposed towards India in spite of her continued neutrality. When looked at from this point of view the newly acquired strategic importance of Tibet is likely to prove a serious disadvantage to India. I do not for a moment suggest that China will send down her military hordes to attack and conquer the eastern provinces of India through Tibet, but a move for a slow infiltration of anti-social elements into India through Tibet and the possibility of active Chinese support to them is not unthinkable. The need for constant vigilance on these frontiers on this score and for maintaining a rigid check and control on this side over persons coming to India even during peace times seems most imperative.

The problems of defence of the eastern frontiers examined from this point of view do not present much difficulty. The various compaigns in Burma and fierce battles, fought on the frontier during the world war II, have made it clear that no major campaign can be successfully carried out on the terrain without a well-equipped army. Moreover it should not be very difficult to organise a sound defence on the Assam frontier, a fact to which the battles of Imphal and Kohima can well bear testimony.

Again there are suitable spots on the Tibetan plateau for building air bases and the entire Gangetic plain with its prosperous crowded cities from Delhi to Calcutta will then be within easy bombing range from such air bases in Tibet and requisite steps for countering such eventualities must be thought of in advance and duly provided for. Any unpreparedness in India in this respect will most adversely affect its morale and independence of action.

Look at our Navy. We are no doubt on our way to gradual but definite expansion and strengthening of our Navy, but our perpetual dependence on Britian, by our being a member of the Commonwealth, as a source of weakness should go. No doubt our big brother Britain reigns supreme in Indian Ocean with Singapore as its Naval base, but it will be to our national advantage and prestige that we should expand our Navy also.

For expansion of our Air Force nationalisation of the Air Transport is a move in the right direction. During the debate on Foreign Affairs we had occasions to hear about the possibility of a joint defence with Pakistan. This comes into prominence when we look into our Western borders—whether Western Pakistan as a buffer State between India and any major invading power will by itself be able to bear the brunt and successfully repel any enemy land route attack from the west. The continued hostility of some of the frontier tribes to Pakistan makes the problems of Pakistan's defence in that region all the more difficult.

The existance of foreign pockets are rightfully considered possible danger-spot to Indian defence. The danger of those being used as spring-boards and base cannot be ruled out of account and must be provided for.

Mr. Chairman: We shall now produced to the next business of the House.

MOTION *RE*: DETENTION OF THREE MEMBERS AND OTHERS

Shri R. N. S. Deo (Kalahandi-Bolangir): I beg to move:

> "That this House is of opinion that there was a failure on the part of the Delhi administration in keeping in jail three Members of this House and some other citizens without lawful authority and in clear contravention of the provisions of the Constitution and Law as disclosed in the proceedings before and in the judgment of the

Supreme Court given on the 12th March, 1953 in connection with the *habeas corpus* petition by Shri Ram Narayan Singh, M.P. and that the Government should investigate into the matter and report to the House the results of such enquiry and action taken thereon by Government."

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the cair*]

At the outset, I should like to make it clear that we are not concerned with the arrest, and the events preceding the arrest of these hon. Members. The point that I wish to raise through this motion is confined to the illegal detention of certain citizens of this country, including three Members of this House. This motion has nothing to do with the Jammu movement or the movement in support of the Jammu movement that is going on in Delhi.

With regard to the present motion I wish to draw the attention of this House to the extraordinary state of affairs that has been revealed in the proceedings and in the judgment of the Supreme Court. Not only a series of irregularities have come to light—if it had been barely a question of irregularities or of mistakes the matter would not have been so serious—but here a series of irregularities have been committed and attempts have been made to cover up those irregularities by all sorts of means which do not redound to the credit of the executive authorities.

I wish to draw the attention of this House to some salient factors in this episode. The first point that I wish to draw the attention of the House to is the first irregularity that occurred on the 6th March 1953.

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): Sir, on a point of order. I wish to inform the House that the matter may not be overlooked. (*An Hon. Member*: What is the point of order?) The point of order is that this matter is *sub judice* and therefore you, Sir, may be pleased to see that the debate is confined to the limits. For it is sometimes said as if the case has been decided finally by the Supreme Court. It is not so. The Magistrate has taken cognizance of it and there is a date fixed, and before that Magistrate all the things relating to the arrest on the 6th and subsequent things will be a matter for discussion. That is the point of order. My hon. friend was just now mentioning this irregularity, that irregularity on the 6th, and so on. That will be a matter for discussion before the Magistrate.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: I am not going to raise any matter about the arrest.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is what I thought when admitting this motion. From the time the Supreme Court decided—whatever might have happened before the 6th or from the 6th upto the 9th—on the 9th when the Magistrate adjourned the case to the 11th there was no formal order under section 344 of the Criminal Procedure Code committing the accused once again to custody. Now, irregularities have been said to have occurred with respect to that. That may not form the subject matter of the case that is now pending under section 188. What happened on the 9th or subsequent to that, that is whether there was an order of remand or not, that does not affect the decision of the case under section 188. Those matters can be gone into under this. We need not go back to the 6th, the arrest and other things, the arrest on the 6th, and before the 6th the breaking of the order under section 144 which might have led to the case under section 188—all this will be the subject matter of the case under section 188. That is *sub judice*. What happened on the 9th and thereafter, whether the detention was rightful or wrongful, is a matter that can be gone into in these proceedings here.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: Sir, I would like to submit to you that I do not propose to go into the merits of the arrest or of the case that is *sub judice*, that is under section 188. I am only referring to certain irregularities that have emerged in the proceedings of the Supreme Court. My motion makes it...

Shri Telkikar (Nanded): Sir, on a point of order.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it different from what has been raised?

Shri Telkikar: Yes, Sir. Under Rule 63(2) of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business it is open for any Member to raise an objection to leave being granted, and if that is the case the procedure is given there which has to be followed thereafter. Now, as I say, there are some reasons why objection can be taken and leave may not be granted......

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Leave has already been granted. What is the rule?

Shri Telkikar: Rule 63, sub-rule (2).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It relates to adjournment motions. I am sorry the hon. Member is not following the proceedings. The hon. Member may go on

Shri R. N. S. Deo: My motion makes it quite clear that I wish to raise the question of the irregularities that have emerged from not only the judgment but also the proceedings of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let me not take time over this. There is only one hour for this discussion. At six o'clock we will take up the other matter that has been set down for discussion. And the hon. Minister would like to reply. Therefore, I will give half an hour for the Opposition and half an hour for the Government and any other Member who might speak. Three persons can speak. Under the circumstances the points may be stated and the object of this motion may also be stated. If the hon. Member takes fifteen or twenty minutes other hon. Members relating to other Groups will be cut out. He may therefore bear this in mind. I will allow ten minutes.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: Sir, I will try to be very brief and I will conclude soon if there are no interruptions.

I was drawing your attention to the irregularities that have emerged from the Supreme Court's proceedings as well as judgment. There has been a violation of the provisions of the Constitution, of article 22 of the Constitution which guarantees Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India. If it had been only a question of violation of any ordinary provision of law I would have taken it as an ordinary matter. But here there is a mandatory provision of the Constitution, article 22, and that has been disregarded. That is the thing that has clearly emerged from the proceedings of the Supreme Court.

On the 6th certain persons were arrested, including three hon. Members of this House; and as required by law under article 22 of the Constitution they were not produced before a magistrate within twentyfour hours. There was no remand order passed in the presence of the accused and they were detained in jail.

What are the subsequent things that have emerged in this connection? Subsequently what did the Government do? If they had simply admitted the mistake that there had been an irregularity the matter would have ended there. But instead of that, they tried to prove that they had acted correctly. And then what happened? Subsequently the Solicitor-General had to admit that the order of the Magistrate was not correct, that the statement that he had signed it when the accused were present before him was not a fact, that it was a wrong statement that he had made. And what is the explanation offered by the Solicitor-General? He says that the Magistrate was busy, therefore his assistant wrote out the order and he signed it without reading.

Now, this extraordinary sort of explanation is offered. and are we to take this thing quietly? Are we not to ask Government to be more strict in these matters when the question of the liberty of the subject is concerned? I will not dwell any more on that question.

Now I come to the second point, that is the irregularities that occurred on the 9th of March. These accused persons were produced before the trying Magistrate on the 9th March and he adjourned the case to the 11th of March, and he passed no order for remand as required under section 344 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The subsequent detention, without any lawful authority, of these persons including three important Members of this House, was absolutely without any justification, without any authority.

And yet what did the Government do? There again I quite concede the point, as stated by the hon. Home Minister, that Magistrates and Judges commit mistakes. And if it had been a *bona fide* mistake we would have nothing to say on it. But instead of admitting the mistake and allowing the Court to correct it, they tried to justify that mistake by fabricating a false evidence. That is a most serious thing which we cannot keep quite over. That is a serious thing which is agitating the minds of all the people.

Dr. Katju: My hon. friend has no justification for saying this.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: The hon. Minister will get a chance of replying. Have some patience.

The Supreme Court refused to believe that slip of paper, the so-called remand order. Now what does that indicate? It was a story as remarked by one of the newspapers like a chapter from the Arabian Nights. Today we learn truth is stranger than fiction. What reaction this sort of thing creates in the minds of the people? Now the faith in the existence of the rule of law has been shaken. Now people are asking "when, under the very nose of Parliament in the capital city of India, such irregularities take place in respect of two or three respected Members of Parliament, then how can the ordinary citizen have any safety?" How many people can go to the Supreme Court and get relief if they are illegally detained? Is civil liberty going to be subject to the will of the executive authorities? These are very important points and I wish to bring to the notice of the House the callous attitude of the Government in this matter. When such irregularities have taken place it was the duty of the Government of India to have taken strong action against the guilty officers and taken them to task but what did they do? Instead of taking them to task, our Home Minister gets up in this House and solemnly condones, not only condones, but he tries to give all sorts of lame excuses, untenable excuses in support of the action taken. About officers he says, "On the 11th of March, he forgot", that is, the Magistrate, "I do not know whether he forgot or whether he was following the procedure which was being followed in the Delhi courts for many many years, but he forgot section 344." We have been used to these cock and bull stories in this House but does the hon. Home Minister seriously expect this House to accept this explanation that for many many years Delhi courts have been following this extraordinary procedure of fabricating false evidences. That is something rather too much to expect. The Home Minister even indulges in thought reading. He imagines, the Magistrate thought that they would go back where they had come from! They had come from jail, therefore they would go back to jail! From dust we come, to dust we shall go. How can this sort of thing carry any weight with any intelligent person? I fail to understand. Then he says he did not pass any order. What is most deplorable and most distressing in this whole episode is that the Government instead of taking strong action, are trying to shirk their responsibilities and trying to further shield these guilty officers.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has already taken 15 minutes.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: He says the Magistrates and Judges make mistakes. They do. I could have understood that Magistrates make mistakes sometimes. He does not even say sometimes. He says they do make mistakes every day. That is why higher courts are there to rectify the mistakes. How can we be satisfied with this sort of explanation? The Home Minister says it was a purely procedural mistake. I am prepared to accept if it was a procedural mistake. Then, we would not have raised this question at all. It is not merely a procedural mistake but there has been deliberate concoction of false statements and signatures and all sorts of things. That is why this matter should be taken serious notice of and I most humbly submit for the consideration of this House that this is a matter which is not to be taken in a partisan spirit. This should be considered absolutely objectively. There is no intention in bringing this motion to censure Government. If Government rises to the occasion and do their duty by accepting the suggestions made in this motion and set up an enquiry and take the guilty officers to task, we would only be too happy and the Government also will get out of this awkward situation that they have got into and it would be able to rise to the full stature.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

> "That this House is of opinion that there was a failure on the part of the Delhi administration in keeping in jail three Members of this House and some other citizens without lawful authority and in clear contravention of the provisions of the Constitution and Law as disclosed in the proceedings before and in the judgment of the Supreme Court given on the 12th March, 1953 in connection with the *Habeas Corpus* petition by Shri Ram Narayan Singh, M. P. and that the Government should investigate into the matter and report to the House the results of such enquiry and action taken thereon by Government."

Shri Nand Lal Sharma. He has requested me to allow him to speak as he is one of the three.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): I would like to speak on Jammu.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He said he wanted to speak on the *habeas corpus* application. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): Within the short time allotted to me, I rise to talk on this measure because it is not only a question of just some big people being involved in this nor is it a question which has happend for one day. Our position regarding Jammu and Kashmir has been made clear. We want to separate the two issues today before the House clearly and very categorically.

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty.]

We are grateful to the Home Minister for having said that such lapses of justice take place everyday because that is the fact of the case. We see so many cases that are taking place in the various villages—of *kisans* and workers who are brought up for trial. There are hundreds of cases in which we find these articles of the Constitution are never abided by. They are not produced before a Magistrate within 24 hours. For instance in Telegana there is a case of a woman Mrs. Butchamma of Devarkonda *taluk*, Nalgonda District. She was kept for 15 days in police custody before being produced before the court. There are other cases like this. There is the great case of Janardanachari who was kept under detention for a long time. The Madras Court said that he was with the Hyderabad Court, the Hyderabad Court said he was with the Madras Court. Then after two years we heard when the case came before the Supreme Court that he had absconded. This is the type of justice we see and therefore we have to take very serious notice of this particular case because it brings to the forefront the happenings going on in our country. I refer to those poor people who have no means to pay Rs. 1,500 and other court fees and come before the Supreme Court to focus attention of the public or bring up the case before Parliament. Therefore, we want to bring the cases of hundreds of people who are today suffering the same lapses of justice as in this particular motion, before public attention.

I should also like to say that Mr. Daphtry's ingenuity could not think of anything better than to say that justice was in the pocket of the police officers. I would say we are not prepared to allow that—the police officer keeping justice in his pocket. That is exactly what most of us have been fighting against. That is the British tradition. That is why we find that in the entire period of British rule, the judiciary was subservient to the executive. That is why many of our young men turned their revolvers against the executives. Maybe that method was wrong but they tried to point out how they were subservient and therefore, I say that we are continuing in the same tradition. It is not a lapse. It is not a single case. It is not a case of a few [illegible] Members of Parliament being brought before the Courts, it is something that is continuing right throughout everyday. In many cases the trial goes on for years. Take for instance the case of the Kakdwip trials in Bengal. One Ordinance is thrown out, another comes in, the detention goes on. Various ways, various methods are utilised to rob the people of this justice of trial. Therefore, I feel that this House must take very serious note of the whole matter. It must be gone into and the entire system has to be checked up and tightened so that not only in the case of those who can get into the public eye, but in every case justice may be done. These lapses have to be corrected and those who are responsible whether in the lower judiciary or higher judiciary have to be properly proceeded against and punished.

Shri Raghavachari (Penukonda): This is an extraordinary situation that has arisen to be considered by this Parliament, and I am very sorry—a lawyer as I am. The Constitution was framed after so much of suffering in the country to establish the liberty of the people. Article 22 of the Constitution provides that a man must be produced before a Magistrate within 24 hours of his arrest. But, in Delhi, under the very nose of the Government, in spite of the provision in the Constitution, what is it that we find? They have not been produced before a Magistrate for days together. We are told, this happened that happened. I for one as a Member of Parliament, am perfectly prepared to believe three hon. Members who are our colleagues when they say that they have not been produced before a Magistrate. What more do you want? You may fabricate or show or you might indicate, all kinds of chits and papers. They carry no weight. In this case, the Supreme Court asked the Government to produce their papers from the District Magistrate as well as the trying Magistrate. Were they able to produce these chits? They were not there. Long after, they smuggled them in. The Supreme Court said, we will not burden our records with these chits. They rejected them. They say, there was an order passed. What was that order? An order written by a police officer, a Sub-Inspector and signed by the District Magistrate without even reading it.

I am ashamed that such a state of affairs should obtain in this Government and in this Delhi city. The Magistrate is not simply signing on ordinary form. It is a judicial function that he is discharging. He is depriving the liberty of a subject of the country. He must necessarily read it and know what he is doing. He cannot take the Sub-Inspector's writing and sign it. Is he the thumb impression of the Sub-Inspector? Is he the thumb mark of the Sub-Inspector? I really feel very much pained about this matter. It is not produced when it is called for. It is subsequently attempted to be brought in and then too from the Sub-Inspector. The warrants must be with the jailer to whom they were committed. It is the jailer that must produce the warrants and not the Sub-Inspector. It is in his pocket. It looks as if, in my judgment, these orders, these chits have been—I do not wish to use the word fabricated—subsequently got up to save the face of these Magistrates. In fact, it is not that the Magistrates did not know the law or the requirements of the law. If they did not know it, they would have said, we were ignorant. They want to hide their ignorance: not even ignorance; I would put it, their carelessness; their extraordinary confidence that they can go on doing anything in this land. This is most serious.

When I see the Government and the Home Minister rising up and trying to justify the conduct of these men, to my mind, it is most reprehensible. That is what I feel honestly as a citizen of this country. I would have liked the Government to get up and say, here is a mistake, we are very sorry. I know and I also agree with the Home Minister that mistakes are done in the courts now and then. It may be corrected. But, there must be honesty to confess that they have made a mistake. I cannot hide my mistake by fabricating anything. I only commit the offence twice. Therefore, this matter, instead of engaging the supreme attention of the Government, does not call for an opposition and attempt to justify it. I would therefore request the Government to give their serious consideration to the public impression that would be created consequent on their act of this kind: a Government which not only winks or connives at these things, but tries to justify it and above all, not in the case of ordinary people, but of very respectable Members of this House, a Leader of the Opposition and another Ex-High Court Judge Member.

I do not wish to go into all that. As the Mover proposed, it is a matter of the liberty of every individual in this country, for whom the Constitution has provided a safeguard. You must uphold it. Democracy must not mean deprivation of the liberties of the people. Unfortunately more democratic forms come into play; liberties are more in jeopardy. Is the Constitution to be only on paper? Is it not to be enjoyed by the subjects of this country? Therefore, I would with all my respect for the Home Minister and the Government, request them not only to agree to the investigation of this question, but also to take very firm steps to prevent a matter of this kind recurring. Why I say this is because this is not the first time that as a Member of Parliament I hear something wrong in the Delhi administration. Some time ago, detention orders, were passed I do not wish to go into details. There is an impression in my mind that some Member who was not present in Delhi was stated to be present in Delhi and then there was some dentention order against him. Then a reference to the Privileges Committee and a report about it. This appears to be a chronic State of affairs. The answer given by the Home Minister is, there is this new procedure in Delhi,. The Criminal Procedure Code is the same. In our secular State, there should be uniformity of law and procedure throughout the country. Is there a separate Criminal Procedure Code for the Delhi State? I do not know. Therefore, this is a matter in which the Government must welcome a motion of this kind and establish the confidence of the public in themselves and in their administration. If they go on taking recourse to this kind of method, it will shake the public confidence and it will convert the Constitution and the rights provided solemnly therein to mere waste paper. I therefore support this motion.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव (गुड़गांव) : इस रेज़ोल्यूशन को पढ़ कर मुझे बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ और इस हाउस में........

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : अंग्रेज़ी में बोलिये ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : मुझे इजाज़त दी जाय कि वक्त बहुत थोड़ा है इसलिये जो कुछ मुझे अर्ज़ करना है वह मैं इसी ज़बान में अर्ज़ करूं जिस में मैं बोलना चाहूं ।

इस रेज़ोल्यूशन को देख कर मुझे बड़ा भारी ताज्जुब हुआ कि किस तरह से यह रेज़ोल्यूशन इस हाउस के अन्दर कोई शख्स लाने की ज़रूरत कर सकता है । मैं ने अभी सुना है और अभी कई मेम्बर साहबान ने बताया कि हम डिमाक्रेसी चाहते हैं । हम चाहते हैं

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

रुल आफ ला, हम चाहते हैं कि कान्स्टिट्यूशन का एक एक लफ्ज माना जाय । मैं अर्ज कर सकता हूं कि यह पार्टी और यह गवर्नमेंन्ट इस से भी ज्यादा चाहती है, जिन्होंने इस कान्स्टिट्यूशन को बनाया है, वह चाहते हैं कि इसके एक एक लफ्ज़ पर अमल हो। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि चार आदमियों का एक मुकदमा दिल्ली स्टेट के अन्दर हुआ। शायद इस से छोटा जुर्म पेनल कोड में नहीं है । दफा १८८ के अन्दर जो सजा हो सकती है वह है दोसौ जुर्माने की और एक महीने की सजा, और अगर अग्रावेटेड जुर्म हो इस से भी सख्त सजा देनी हो तो वह है छः महीने की सजा और १००० रुपया जुर्माना । बिल्कुल मामूली सा आफेन्स जिस में मुजरिम को अख्तयार है कि अपनी ज़मानत दे कर बाहर चला आये ।

वह मुकदमा लड़ सकता है, वह अपील कर सकता है और यह बेलेएबल अफेन्स है ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): An offence under section 188 is cognisable and non-bailable in the Delhi State under the Chief Commissioner's Notification.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Under the Cr. P. C. Section 188 is bailable. I have got the book with me here.

Hon. Members: In Delhi.

The Minister of Law and Minority Affairs (Shri Biswas): The order was made under the Public Security Act and the offence has been made non-bailable and cognisable.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव: मैंने यह क्रिमनल प्रोसीजर कोड के मुताल्लिक अर्ज किया लेकिन अगर किसी ऐक्ट के मातहत इस को दिल्ली के वास्ते नान बेलेबल बनाया गया है, यह दुरुस्त है, तो भी मैं अर्ज कर सकता हूं कि इस रेज़ोल्यूशन मे इतनी हीट जनरेट क्यों की जाती है ? क्या यह डिमाक्रेसी का तकाज़ा है कि अगर इस हाउस के चन्द मेम्बर इस तरह से गिरफ्तार हों तो इस हाउस में यह मोशन आये ?

अगर प्रामिनेन्ट आदमी इसके अन्दर हिस्सा लेते हैं तो यह मोशन इस हाउस के अन्दर लाया जाय । मैं अदब से यह अर्ज करूंगा कि डिमाक्रेसी का यह तकाज़ा है कि छोटे से छोटा आदमी भी वही हक रखता है जो कि एक बड़े से बड़ा आदमी रखता है । ऐसी सूरत में मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि यह चीज दिल से निकाल देनी चाहिये कि हमारे हाउस में तीन मेम्बर गिरफ्तार हुए हैं । हम उन की बहुत इज्ज़त करते हैं और मैं भी उनकी इज्ज़त करता हूं । लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करता हूं कि यह मेजर जनरल पबलिक इंपारटेंस का इसलिये नहीं है कि दिल्ली एक स्टेट है उन चन्द स्टेट्स में से जो कि हिन्दुस्तान में वाके हैं । हर एक स्टेट मे सेंकड़ों अदालतें हैं और हरएक अदालत में सैंकड़ों मुकदमे रहते हैं । मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि । अगर एक एक मुकदमे को हाउस में इस गरज़ से लाया जाये कि उसमें टेकनिकल मिस्टेक हो गयी है तो इस हाउस का काम कैसे चलेगा । मैं तो यहां तक अर्ज करूंगा कि आप दफा १७१ और १७३ को मुलाहिज़ा फरमायें और फिर गौर करें कि यह मामला जनरल पबलिक इंटरेस्ट का है या नहीं । जहां तक इन अल्फाज़ का ताल्लुक है, जनरल पबलिक इंटरस्ट, मैं कहूंगा कि यह मामला हरगिज़ इनकी ज़द में नहीं आता । इस प्राइवेट मामले को , जो कि इस तरह के हजारों मुकदमों में से एक मुकदमा है, हाउस में कैसे लाया जा सकता है ।

अब मैं इस मामले की तरफ आना चाहता हूं । इस रिजोल्यूशन में यह कहा गया है कि

सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जो फ़ैसला है उसकी बिना पर यह मामला यहां पेश किया है । सुप्रीम कोर्ट का फ़ैसला मेरे हाथ में है । सुप्रीम कोर्ट के फ़ैसले में कहीं यह नहीं लिखा कि यह आदमी २४ घन्टे के अन्दर यानी ६ तारीख को पेश नहीं किये गये । इसमें लिखा है कि......

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): It was conceded by the Solicitor-General.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव: जहां तक इस रिज़ोल्यूशन का ताल्लुक है हम इस हाउस में किसी और चीज़ को नहीं देख सकते सिवा जजमेंट के क्योंकि इसमें जजमेंट ही दर्ज है । यहां यह कहने की कोशिश की जाती है कि चूंकि एक टेकनिकल मिस्टेक हो गयी इसलिये मजिस्ट्रेट ढिल्लन ने जालसाज़ी की । मैं अदब से अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं कि वह मजिस्ट्रेट यहां हमारे सामने मोजूद नहीं है । जो कुछ इस जजमेंट में दर्ज है उसकी बिना पर यह कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि उसने फेबरिकेशन किया है ।

इस के इलावा मैं अदब से यह अर्ज़ करूंगा कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जो पहली चीज़ लिखी है वह यह है कि :

> "Various questions of law and fact have been argued before us by Mr. Sethi on behalf of the Petitioner, but we consider it unnecessary to enter upon a discussion of those questions. as it is now conceded that the first order of remand dated the 6th March even assuming it was a valid one expired on the 9th March and it is no longer in force".

सारे सुप्रीम कोर्ट के फ़ैसले में ६ मार्च के फ़ैसले के बारे मे एक लफ़ज भी दर्ज नहीं है । इसलिये हमको ६ तारीख के फ़ैसले के बारे में हाउस में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहिये । मैं अदब से अर्ज़ करूंगा कि जब तक इस हाउस के सामने उन लोगों का ऐफीडेविट न हो और जब तक मजिस्ट्रेट ढिल्लन यहां न हों तब तक यह हाउस इसका फ़ैसला कैसे कर सकता है ।

मैं अदब से अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं कि दूसरे मामले की तरफ जनाब वाला तवज्जह करें । ९ मार्च को एक मजिस्ट्रेट के सामने ये मुलज़िमान पेश हुए मजिस्ट्रेट ने दफा ३४४ के मातहत यह ख्याल करके कि रीज़नेबिल काज़ आफ ऐडजर्नमेंट है ११ तारीख दे दी । मैं मानता हूं कि दफा ३४४ के मातहत यह हुक्म देते वक्त मजिस्ट्रेट को यह भी लिखना चाहिये था, ऐक्यूज्ड आर रिमन्डेड टू कस्टडी । सिर्फ यह लफ़ज़ लिखने से रह गये । इसके सिवा और कोई गलती नहीं है । जो साहिबान क्रिमिनल प्रोसीड्योर से वाकिफ हैं उनको मालूम होगा कि जब किसी मजिस्ट्रेट के रोबरू एक मुलजिम पेश होता है तो वह देखता है कि रीज़नेबल काज़ फार ऐडजर्नमेंट है या नहीं । वह दफा ३४४ की रू से लिख सकता है कि उसको रिमांड किया गया । अगर यह लोग बेल पर न होते तो उसका यही असर होता कि कस्टडी चलती जाय । मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि इसके अन्दर कांस्टीट्यूशन से क्या वास्ता है। कांस्टीट्यूशन के दफा २२ में यही लिखा है कि अगर किसी शख्स को गिरफ्तार किया जाय तो उसको २४ घंटे के अन्दर मजिस्ट्रेट के सामने पेश करना चाहिये । लेकिन जो कुछ ९ मार्च को हुआ वह तो दफा ३४४ क्रिमिनल प्रोसीड्योर कोड के मुताबिक हुआ है । क्रिमिनल प्रोसीड्योर कोड में ५६५ दफायें हैं । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हज़ारों कोर्टस में इन दफाओं में कितनी टेकनिकल गलतियां नहीं होती होंगी । सिर्फ यही एक टेकनिकल मिस्टेक नहीं हुई है । इसमें सिर्फ यह दर्ज नहीं किया गया कि फलां तारीख को यह मुलज़िम पेश हों मैं अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं कि

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

यह गलती टेकनिकल मिस्टेक से भी कम है। एक वारंट है। उस वारंट की पुश्त पर लिखा गया है कि ११ मार्च को पेश हों। सिर्फ इसी बिना पर यह कहना कि जालसाजी की गयी कहां तक जायज और दुरुस्त माना जा सकता है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने सिर्फ यह कहा है कि चूंकि यह कागजात दस तारीख तक पेश नहीं हुए इसलिये हम इनको वक्त नहीं देने। हमारे कुछ दोस्त कहते हैं कि इसमें होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह कहा था वह कहा था। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि इससे होम मिनिस्टर साहब को क्या वास्ता हो सकता है। दिल्ली के कोर्टस पंजाब हाईकोर्ट के मातहत हैं। उनसे इस गवर्नमंट को क्या वास्ता है। अगर किसी कोर्ट में कोई गलती की जाती है तो उससे ऊपर की अदालत उसको ठीक कर सकती है। होम मिनिस्टर साहब को इस मामले में न कोई इख्तियार है न जिम्मेदारी है मैं नें 'सी' स्टेट का एक्ट पढ़ा है। उसकी रू से हमारी इस गवर्नमेंट को उस मजिस्ट्रेट पर कोई अख्तियार नहीं है एग्ज़ीक्यूटिव व जुडीशियरी की जुदायगी का असूल मुसल्लेमा है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि चूंकि यह मामला उन तीन चार लोगों के मुकदमे में हुआ जिनकी हम इज्ज़त करते हैं इसलिये क्या कांस्टीट्यूशन में कोई खराबी हो गयी या कोई चीज कांस्टीट्यूशन के खिलाफ की गयी। हजारों लाखों मुकदमे इस तरह के होते हैं। यह एक ऐसी गलती है जिसको दूसरी अदालत ठीक कर सकती है एकज़ेक्यूटिव के ज़रिये ऐसे मामले में मदाखलत को तजवीज खिलाफ कांस्टीट्यूशन व डेमोक्रेटिक असूल के है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि यह एक ऐसा मामला है कि जिसकी हाउस को कोई परवाह नहीं करना चाहिये और इसको थ्रो आउट कर देना चाहिये।

Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai): There is my amendment. I want to know what position it occupies.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The amendment to this? Yes, it may be moved. Discussion has gone on along with that.

Shri Vallatharas: I beg to move:

> "That in the motion for the words 'and that the Government should investigate into the matter and report to the House the results of such enquiry and action taken thereon by Government' the following be substituted:
>
> 'and that a Committee of enquiry be appointed by the Prime Minister consisting of five members, the Chairman of the Committee to be a retired High Court Judge or a retired District Judge and two nominees of the Government to be chosen by the Government, and two Members of this House to be selected by the Speaker in consultation with the Leaders of the Opposition Groups, which should enquire into the matter and report to this House the results of its enquiry and the action to be taken against the officers who may be held responsible for any illegal act and commission of excess or abuse of power'."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendment moved:

> "That in the motion for the words 'and that the Government should investigate into the matter and report to the House the results of such enquiry and action taken thereon by Government' the following be substituted:
>
> 'and that a Committee of enquiry be appointed by the Prime Minister consisting of five members, the Chairman of the Committee to be a retired High Court Judge or a retired District Judge and two nominees of the Government to be chosen by the Government, and two Members of this House to be selected by the Speaker in consultation with the Leaders of the Opposition Groups, which should enquire into the matter and report to this House the results of its enquiry and the action to be taken against the officers who may be held responsible for any illegal act and commission of excess or abuse of power'."

Dr. Katju: The House would bear in mind that this matter has been a

judicial matter right from the start, from the very inception of it. I am reluctant to go very deeply into facts because the matter is *sub judice*, but it is a matter of record that the accused in this case were arrested by a Magistrate on the 6th of March this year in the evening. It was not a question of any Police officer or any executive officer arresting them. They were arrested by the Magistrate himself. As to what happened at that time, I will not go into it because that is a matter for enquiry. Now, the Magistrate having arrested them, caused them to be sent to the Police Station. Therefrom they were sent, because of lack of comfortable lodging in the Police Station, to the District Jail. And on the 6th of March, that Magistrate passed an order of remand directing postponement and production before another Magistrate for trial on the 9th of March. As my learned friend Mr. Bhargava has just now pointed out—I wish the House to remember this and note this—the *habeas corpus* application was made in the Supreme Court on the 9th of March before any proceedings had been taken. on the ground that the arrest having been made on the 6th of March, the accused had not been produced before a Magistrate within 24 hours.

That was the first matter. As to how far the arrest by a magistrate himself would be affected by this question, I do not propose to go into, because it is a matter of law. But on the 9th March, this is what happened. On the one side, there was an argument in the Supreme Court, at two o'clock, for the admission of the application. And the Supreme Court directed notice to go to the opposite party, namely the Government, returnable the next day, the 10th instant. If this application had been made, the House would picture to itself what happened on the 9th March at three o'clock, not in any ordinary court, but in the District Jail itself. The magistrate was there. The accused were brought before him, and he was prepared to go on with the trial. Thereupon an application was made by the accused or on behalf of the accused informing the magistrate that an application for *habeas corpus* had been made, and adjourned to the 10th, and the accused thereupon said that the matter should be adjourned. The Magistrate acceded to their application and fixed the case for the 11th. I ask hon. Members to remember—I am not justifying anything as to whether a Magistrate committed a mistake or not, that is a different matter—what is the environment. The Magistrate goes to the District Jail, the accused are produced before him from custody in the District Jail, the accused want a postponement of the case, and that application is acceded to. The accused do not apply for bail, and nobody mentions about bail. Everybody knew where the accused were going to be taken back, namely, back into the jail itself for custody, and there the matter ended. Now, the Magistrate—he is supposed or not supposed to—noted on his judicial file that the case is adjourned to the 11th instant. Thereupon the case comes before the Supreme Court on the 10th. Argument is raised. Records are called for, and on the 11th the case appears, and those four slips are produced, on the back of which it was noted that the accused may be remanded to custody. Now whether those slips are genuine or not genuine, is not germane to the matter. I ask the House to remember that from the 9th onwards, I had nothing to do with the case, the Government had nothing to do with this case. It was being dealt with by a Magistrate in his judicial capacity. Somebody asked me to confess to errors. When I had made none, do you mean to say I should make a false confession here? (*Interruptions*).

Shri V. G. Deshpande: On a point of information. (*Interruptions*).

Dr. Katju: I do not know how my learned friend there is getting up. I am only saying that the accused were brought from the jail, and were sent back to the jail. Bail not having been applied for, everybody thought that they would go back to the jail. Now, the whole thing is this. I do not wish to say one word against the Supreme Court. Their judgment is law. Five learned judges decided the case. Of course, ordinarily it would have gone before a Sessions Judge or a District Magistrate. But the case being in Delhi, it went straight to five learned Judges of the Supreme Court, on that *habeas corpus* application. There it was argued 'Look at this technical fault'. Now, what is the technical fault? Section 344 provides that if the case is adjourned, there should be an express order in so many words, that the accused are remanded to custody. Inasmuch as these four charming and magical words are not used on the judicial order, the detention therefore becomes illegal. I accept the Judgment of the Supreme Court. Of course, it must be correct. Otherwise, ordinarily, I would have thought—I would remind you, Sir—that there is another section in the Cr. P.C. which has been often cited by everybody known as section 537, which says that where there is an error or omission in the procedure or some irregularities due to something not being copied out or written out, but no injustice has been

[Dr. Katju]

done, or there has been no miscarriage of justice, the court will overlook that. But here of course—the Supreme Court has stated it, it has decided it, and their judgment is the law of the land—the Supreme Court says 'You must copy it out', and having said that, they ordered the release.

I shall now come back again to the point. There was no question of any miscarriage of justice here, because the accused never wanted or suggested that they should go out. They wanted to remain in jail—and I am saying this, with all respect. They only wanted to be released by the order of the court. Now, I ask this question again, because this is a motion which says that this House, the High Court of Parliament, representing 36 crores of people—I would not say go to waste, but I will say—should engage itself through a committee of inquiry to go into this simple matter. So far as judicial proceedings are concerned, everybody will agree that you are not to make any distinctions between a citizen and a citizen, and a citizen and a Member of Parliament. I put it to this House, supposing this mistake had been committed in regard to A, B, or C in Delhi or in Meerut or anybody else, could anybody have dreamt of asking this Parliament to go into this matter, or for the matter of that, a State Legislature?

Now the basic question comes to this. What are we going to investigate? How is this executive Government going to be responsible for any error of omission or commission committed by the Magistrate in forgetting to write these four words 'I remand the accused to custody'? He must have thought that the matter was quite plain, and that they would go back to custody. So what is the use of putting that question before me? Please remember again—I am repeating myself—that the question which has been raised on the *habeas corpus* petition which was filed on the 9th instant, related to the arrest on the 6th and the non-production of the accused before a Magistrate—there was nothing after the 9th. And that was the point taken up during the course of argument, and of course, the Supreme Court said 'We will go into it', and they said that inasmuch as there was nothing in writing there, 'We will order their release', and they ordered their release then and there. They expressly said in the passage which was read out by Mr. Bhargava, that 'We are not going behind the orders made on the 9th instant'. I respectfully therefore submit to this House that it is not a question of any defence of liberty or any defence of the Constitution. If you accept this motion, in any sense of the word, you will be making a precedent which will be dangerous to the liberties of the country. The one thing that is essential is that Magistrates and Judges should never be interfered with by parliamentary or executive authority. The only person or the only authority competent to correct their mistakes is the judicial court. The Supreme Court was there. They corrected the mistake. What is there to inquire into?

I therefore submit—considering the case as very important, with all respect—that it is neither here nor there. The question of principle is this that Parliament as such, or a State Legislature as such, and nobody in this world can interfere with any judicial officer, Judge, Magistrate or anybody, even the *gram panchayats* for that matter, in the exercise of their judicial authority.

My hon. friend cited two irregularities. Irregularity No. 1 was violation of article 22 of the Constitution, and non-production of the accused within 24 hours, before a Magistrate. The Supreme Court did not go into it. I have pointed out before you that the accused were arrested by a Magistrate.........

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): May I ask one question? I did not wish to speak, but I would ask only one question. Apart from the 9th, on the 6th itself, it is a fact that the persons concerned were not produced before any Magistrate. If the hon. Home Minister knows this, is it not his duty to enquire into it—leave aside the Supreme Court judgment. The Magistrate stated that we were produced before a Magistrate. But we were not produced before a Magistrate. Does the hon. Home Minister know this?

Dr. Katju: I am very glad that one of the accused is intervening in the debate. (*Interruptions*).

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): Does the hon. Home Minister know that it was conceded by the learned Solicitor-General in the Supreme Court, that the statement in the remand order by the Additional District Magistrate was not correct, and that the statement that the accused were produced before him, and a remand order was issued in their presence was not true? Does the hon. Home Minister know that?

Dr. Katju: The hon. Minister knows very many things which he does not want to say here.

If this were to be a point of law, it is really well worth an argument; I would have liked to argue it myself.

Therefore, the Supreme Court did not go into it. Is any order even necessary when it is the Magistrate himself who arrested? That is the point. Under article 22 of the Constitution, the man must be produced before the Magistrate. This presupposes that the individual concerned was arrested by somebody else than a Magistrate. It may be that my argument is wrong. But that is the obvious point. It is, therefore, that the Supreme Court stated thus:

> "Various questions of law and fact have been argued before us by Mr. Sethi on behalf of the petitioner. But we consider it unnecessary to enter upon a discussion of these questions as it is now conceded......etc."

The question was a difficult question. Therefore, the Supreme Court got hold of another question, namely, what happened on the 9th. Nothing to do with the *Habeas corpus* petition. I do not say that they were not entitled to take notice of whatever happened. But so far as the 6th is concerned, I suggest with due humility that there was really nothing in the petition.

Now, so far as the question of the 9th, 10th and 11th is concerned, it is purely a judicial matter—purely exercise of judicial authority. Men are ordered to be hanged. Do you mean to say that this High Court of Parliament is going into those matters?

I, therefore, say, with all respect, it is not a question which we should go into. We might mislead ourselves by bringing the personality of the accused in this case into our consideration. It is just the other way. The question is that we should not act in the excitement of the moment or out of respect to the accused in this case and create a precedent which will be fatal to judicial independence. It is on this ground that I suggest that this motion should not be carried.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I shall first put the amendment of Shri Vallatharas to the vote of the House.

The question is:

> "That in the motion for the words 'and that the Government should investigate into the matter and report to the House the results of such enquiry and action taken thereon by Government' the following be substituted:
>
> 'and that a Committee of enquiry be appointed by the Prime Minister consisting of five members, the Chairman of the Committee to be a retired High Court Judge or a retired District Judge and two nominees of the Government to be chosen by the Government, and two Members of this House to be selected by the Speaker in consultation with the Leaders of the Opposite Groups, which should enquire into the matter and report to this House the results of its enquiry and the action to be taken against the officers who may be held responsible for any illegal act and commission of excess or abuse of power'."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now I will put the motion itself to the vote of the House.

The question is:

> "That this House is of opinion that there was a failure on the part of the Delhi administration in keeping in jail three Members of this House and some other citizens without lawful authority and in clear contravention of the provisions of the Constitution and Law as disclosed in the proceedings before and in the judgment of the Supreme Court given on the 12th March 1953 in connection with the *Habeas Corpus* petition by Shri Ram Narayan Singh, M.P., and that the Government should investigate into the matter and report to the House the results of such enquiry and action taken thereon by Government."

The motion was negatived.

SITUATION IN JAMMU

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up the next item. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee.

Shri Amjad Ali (Goalpara-Garo Hills): On a point of order, Sir.

Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain): I want to know whether this discussion has arisen out of reply to any question or it is as a matter of public importance.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is a procedure which has been settled by convention. For a long time I have been sensing the feeling of the House; with respect to matters of public importance, there is no specific provision except

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

by way of a resolution or a motion, in both of which vote of the House has to be taken. And further in a resolution, due notice has to be given and it has to be balloted. Regarding a motion of public importance, vote has to be taken. With respect to other matters of public importance where hon. Members only want to raise a discussion without putting it to vote, but only for the purpose of drawing the attention of the Government, for want of any other specific procedure laid down in the rules, they have been resorting in many cases to motions of adjournment. But it has been repeatedly held that adjournment motions are in the nature of censure motions. Lastly, there is the other provision relating to half-an-hour discussion in the evening on two days in a week, but that is under the rules confined only to a subject matter which was the subject matter of a question, and for further elucidation that half an hour has been allotted.

In the British House of Commons where a matter is of public importance, where a vote of the House is not called for but the only intention is to draw the attention of the Government and to have a discussion on that matter, there is what is called a motion of adjournment: 'The House do now adjourn', without being a motion of censure. We have not got that procedure here. For that purpose, therefore, finding that very many matters come before the House and as and when they arise hon. Members on both sides want to have a discussion and ascertain the view of the Government on those matters, I invited the Leaders of all the groups to the Chamber a few days ago when the hon. the Leader of the House was also present. We talked over that matter and it was suggested that in the place of two days being allotted for half-an-hour discussion, three days might be allotted, and instead of the matter that comes before the House for the half-an-hour discussion being confined only to matters already answered during the Question Hour and with respect to which supplementaries have been put, the discussion may relate to matters of general importance and also that no vote need be taken on that particular motion. Therefore, as a first measure, without framing any rule, by convention, by the agreement of the Leaders of all the Groups, including the Leader of the House, I allowed Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee to raise this discussion. Hereafter all Members of this House who want to raise a discussion on a matter of public importance without......

Shri Radhelal Vyas: May I invite your attention to rule 171? There is a specific provision in the rules......

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I am answering that point.

Shri Radhelal Vyas: Without a motion, no discussion can be......

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am answering that point. Rule 171 relates to a motion of the kind that we just disposed of—where the motion has to be put to vote.

6 P.M.

Now, there are so many matters where it may not be the desire of the person, who makes a reference to have a discussion, to have a vote of the House on the matter. He only wants to draw the attention of the House. This is a new method of bringing matters to the notice of the House. I am only following it with the consent of all parties. I propose to give three days in a week instead of two days and allowing matters not only arising out of a question to be raised but matters of public importance. Notice has to be given to the Speaker and the Speaker, if he consents, and finds that it is a matter of public importance, and with the consent of the Government, who have to allot time, this matter may be arranged. I am applying this to all Members from any party and this is to see how it works. If the convention is established, then we shall crystallise it in the form of a rule. Under that Dr. S. P. Mookerjee wrote to me. He wrote to me that he wrote to the Prime Minister, the Leader of the House and that the latter had agreed to allot a certain time and then he made a specific point here as the basis of the discussion. Under those circumstances, it is allowed with the consent of the Leaders of the Groups and the Leader of the House.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): The subject-matter that I would like to raise for discussion is not new to this House. I know that I have no right to take the time of the House over and again on this matter but I believe it will be recognised that the situation is so developing that it may be useful for all of us concerned to have even a short debate on this very grave issue and also its possible repercussions on the country. Previously, I have gone into the details of the Jammu situation; so I do not wish to cover the entire ground. Nor will it be possible for us in the short time at our disposal to deal with all the matters, national and inter-national arising out of this controversy.

We in this city—when I say we, I refer to three political organisations, the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad—have started a movement in support of the Jammu movement. Let me make it clear, in the first instance, that what we have done is to give our moral support to the efforts, which, in our opinion, are being justly made in the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the purpose of vindicating the rights of the people of that State. No doubt that movement has been launched by a section of the people of that State but the issues raised in that connection are so momentous that, in our humble judgment, they affect not only that State but also the entire country. I recognise fully that in a free democratic country, it should not, normally speaking, be considered desirable for any such movement to be launched. And, speaking for myself and for others, I should like to say this without fear of contradiction that we were extremely anxious—not were, even are today—that this controversial matter should be settled amicably through a process of negotiation so that the interests of Jammu and Kashmir may be safeguarded and India's position may not be jeopardised in any manner whatsoever. Unfortunately, there have been lots of abuses and counter-abuses, vituperations, casting of motives and the issues immediately arising out of these have tended to become somewhat clouded. I do not want to refer to all these controversies because my anxiety is to concentrate on the main issues and to make an appeal to the Prime Minister and to the House, especially to the majority party, that even at this late stage, we may be able to settle this matter in a manner which will not be derogatory to Government and which will, at the same time, remove just causes of fear and anxiety from the minds of a large section of our people. The charge has been brought against us that this is a communal movement, that this is a sectarian movement, that this is a reactionary movement......

An Hon. Member: It is.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Wait a minute; do not be in such a hurry. ...this is a reactionary movement, that this is a movement which is befriending Pakistan and all sorts of things. All these conclusions have been paraded by the Prime Minister himself and by others. In my humble opinion, the issues are constitutional, political, economic and administrative. The demands which have been made have nothing to do with communalism or sectarianism. The demands which have been made are not intended to strengthen Pakistan. I shall take that point first.

In our absence, the Prime Minister one day said on the floor of this House that we are helping the enemy. I suppose he meant the Pakistan enemy. (*Interruption*) So far as helping the enemy is concerned, as you know, we will be the last persons to do anything which will consolidate the position of Pakistan against the just rights of India. But, if the unfortunate controversy which has just now arisen strengthens the propaganda machinery of Pakistan, it devolves both on us as also on Government to see to it that the controversy is settled in such a manner that Pakistan's hands will not be strengthened in any manner whatsoever. It is a responsibility which will fall on all of us and not on us alone.

What are the demands which have been made? I shall not go into the details; time will not permit me to do so. One is the finality of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India. I know the history very well and I know also the manner in which the question has been sought to be dealt with during the last few years. But, unless and until this sword of Damocles is removed, unless and until this question is solved, there is no certainty about the future of that State. And, it is conceded that it does give rise to feelings of fear, doubts and apprehension in the minds of large sections of the people as regards their very existence in future. Now, we have suggested a certain way out. We have said that so far as the UNO is concerned, we went there on the question of aggression and not on the question of accession. Accession is a domestic matter. From the UNO we do not expect to get any justice whatsoever so far as Kashmir is concerned. Already one-third of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is in the hands of Pakistan; and even with regard to that there is no possibility of our recovering that area because of the intransigence of the Security Council. So far as the question of accession is concerned, undoubtedly the Prime Minister held out certain assurances and we have suggested a formula that no question of plebiscite should come now. Let the matter be decided on the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir and so far as India and Kashmir are concerned, that matter should be treated as closed. I am not going to discuss this question in detail. Answers may be given pointing out the difficulties. This is one vital

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matter with regard to which an anxiety has been expressed that the greater the delay in having the matter solved, the greater will be the danger with regard to the future existence of that State. I ask, humbly, is there anything communal about it? Is there anything reactionary about it, is there anything that strengthens the hands of Pakistan with regard to it because we say not only that portion of Jammu and Kashmir which is now with us but also that portion of Jammu and Kashmir which is in the hands of Pakistan, the entire State should come to India? So how can any one afford to suggest that we are doing this for the purpose of strengthening the hands of Pakistan?

Next comes the question of the applicability of the provisions of the Indian Constitution to that part of the territory. Now, there again, the formula which has been suggested is that if the entire Constitution cannot be applied immediately, at least those portions of the Constitution which are deemed to be essential and fundamental, should be applied with the least possible delay. Even the July agreement on this very vital question has not yet been implemented. It was suggested that this has not been implemented because of this movement. Now, that is no answer; that is extremely childish because so far as Jammu and Kashmir Government was concerned, it certainly proceeded to give effect to two important parts of that agreement with the least possible delay. Why should it take so many months to implement the remaining portions? They relate to certain vital matters like Fundamental Rights, citizenship, jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, Emergency Powers of the President, financial and economic integration and conduct of elections in such manner indicated in the Constitution itself. Now, there also, it has been stated by the Jammu Parishad and other people that with regard to acquisition of land, if the reforms which have been effected there are to remain untouched by the provisions of the Constitution, an exception may be made and that would be acceptable to all concerned. May I ask in all humility: is there anything in this demand which smacks of communalism, sectarianism, or anything which smacks of protecting the rights of vested interests, of re-creating feudalism in that State? That is the second demand.

The third demand has been with regard to the question of the Indian flag. Now, it has been admitted by the Prime Minister that the Indian flag will certainly be supreme. If that is so, let that flag be put into use from day to day, as it is being used in the rest of India. I have even suggested as a compromise formula that since it touches the feelings and emotions of certain sections of the people, the State flag which has now been adopted may be used on special occasions in addition to the Indian national flag. Is there anything in this which can smack of communalism or reactionarism?

Then with regard to provincial autonomy, I find from the papers that the principle of provincial autonomy is being considered by Sheikh Abdullah's Government itself. Then, there are certain other grievances. I do not wish to go into their details, but what, in short, is the demand which has been made? That those grievances should be examined by a really independent tribunal. A tribunal has been appointed. Barring the Chief Justice of the Jammu and Kashmir State, all the other persons are administrative officers in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Chief Conservator of Forests is there. I do not know which jungle has to be cleared so that the Chief Conservator of Forests may be considered as a very efficient adjudicator on this tribunal.

Shri M. D. Joshi (Ratnagiri South): On a point of order.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: These are not the people who should constitute the tribunal.

Shri M. D. Joshi: On a point of order.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: These are the main demands which have been put forward.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Some hon. Member has risen to a point of order. What is the point of order?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I request that this time may be taken from the Government side.

Shri M. D. Joshi: My point of order is this. With all respect to the hon. Member, can he repeat the same arguments that were put forward by him during the debate on the Jammu and Kashmir State on a former occasion?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I thought the hon. Member would say that it does not really arise out of the situation which is said to have arisen from the movement in Jammu. I suggest to Dr. Syama Prasad that he need not elaborate too much on the demands, because his motion refers to the situation that has arisen as a result of the movement, and does not refer to the situation there. It is the situation that has arisen out of the movement that his motion seeks to discuss.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I referred to these points, because I thought that this might carry conviction with Members like the hon. interruptor.

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): If you will forgive me, Sir, I do not wish to come in the way of the hon. Member saying what he has to say, but I have been listening to his arguments with some surprise—I mean the subject of his arguments—because we are really discussing the whole Kashmir issue. Now, when I agreed to this discussion, I did not have the faintest notion that we were going to discuss this entire issue, which we have repeatedly discussed. I thought that we were going to discuss something that is of vital importance, *viz.* the movement that the hon. Member is carrying on, and to which the Government is resolutely opposed and which the Government thinks is fatal, most pernicious and objectionable, and ought to be suppressed.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let us limit the scope. Let us understand the scope. I thought the discussion related to the situation that has arisen out of the movement. That is what I thought. But I find the hon. Member is leading his arguments to show as to why the movement was started and is laying the greatest emphasis on the movement. But what we are discussing is the situation that has arisen on account of the movement, and not the movement itself.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: This was exactly the reason why I had requested the Prime Minister two days ago that he might initiate the discussion and tell us the exact points that I have to meet, but he unfortunately did not accede to that request. I am extremely sorry that I referred to these points, but I did not know what exactly the Prime Minister's reply was going to be.

I shall not go into the details of this Jammu movement, but I have just given the background and the purposes for which that movement has been started there.

Now, the hon. Prime Minister says that he would like me to deal specifically with the movement which has been started here. Here, what we have started is a movement for the purpose of focusing the attention of the public with regard to the urgency and the grave necessity of settling this problem. How did we come to do it? As I said, in the beginning, normally speaking in a free, democratic country there shoud not be any scope for starting any such *satyagraha* movement, and from 9th January onwards, for more than a month and a half, I carried on correspondence with the Prime Minister and with Sheikh Abdullah. I tried to impress upon them the necessity of getting something done through the process of negotiations, so that the situation may not deteriorate. We did it. We did it with the best of intentions, without any reservation whatsoever. I am not going to refer to the correspondence, because many of the Members have perhaps seen it. But then when it became evident that the Government of India was not prepared to entertain this matter at all, then we started this movement. I am not saying that we have not started it. But that movement is not a communal movement. That movement is not a violent movement. It is a peaceful movement.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Question.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Question? It may be, but if the hon. Prime Minister can point out a single communal incident in any part of India, his questioning will have some truth behind it, but otherwise that questioning remains a mere question mark.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Violent, every way violent.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: If the hon. Prime Minister says that our *satyagrahis* have committed violence, let him appoint a committee of enquiry and I shall abide by its decision.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Everything violent.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: But I say this to the Prime Minister, that so far as violence is concerned, it is not these men—about 600 of them who are in jail in different parts of the country and about 50 of them who have been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act who are guilty of violence. I have seen a number of these boys in the jail. I have seen the rope-like marks on their chest, on their back, and I have also seen and heard the manner in which these peaceful *satyagrahis* have been beaten, caned, lathi-charged, dragged to the police van, and taken to the jail. We have also seen how ladies have been taken away—ladies and also men—ten, twelve miles away from Delhi and let loose near jungles or in remote areas and deprived of their belongings, just for the purpose of making them walk back to Delhi. Let the Prime Minister prove that there has been violence

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committed by the *satyagrahis*. It is possible that crowds may have done it on one or two occasions; they may have done something; but it has been our specific instruction to avoid violence, and let me say this that we cannot possibly afford to commit any violence. That would be undesirable and that will defeat the very purpose that we have in view. We have been tied down to a situation, a situation which we ourselves do not like, but what is the remedy which is open to us.

An. Hon. Member: To get out of it.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I am asking the Prime Minister: If a situation arises in the country, where a section of the people are fighting for their legitimate rights, and everyone in authority refuses to talk to them—an attitude which is inexplicable—what can they do? I beg of the Prime Minister to answer this question. An amazing thing is that he and I never met. Four or five or six times, I said: let us trust each other. I am not doubting the Prime Minister's motives. He is of course proceeding in a manner which he certainly thinks is right and proper, but why should he question those who differ from him? It is not a question of doubting each other's motives. A situation has arisen. Certain viewpoints have been placed before the country. Can we not find out some peaceful settlement through the process of negotiations?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is the very distinguished *chela* of Mahatma Gandhi; that is the very distinguished disciple of Mahatma Gandhi—saying no.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Not with evil. I will have nothing to do with evil.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is the whole point—"I will have nothing to do with peaceful negotiations". The more he loses his temper, the more his inner soul comes out, and it comes out in a manner which he cannot control himself. He considers that everything is evil that is against him. That is the evil in him. That is the most dangerous thing today. Why should he say 'No'? We are all citizens of a free country. Why should he think that he and his followers are the only right people? Let us sit down together and see what the position is, and whether we can come to a settlement or not.

An. Hon. Member: Stop preaching violence.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: We preach violence? If you find that we commit violence, undoubtedly tell us. But every time do not merely say that we preach violence.

An Hon. Member: You are responsible for it.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I can say that if there is violence, no Government should tolerate it. But when there are certain matters of grave import, they should be settled through the process of negotiation. I am amazed to hear the Prime Minister sitting there, say "NO"; he will never settle anything through peaceful negotiations. That is a matter very much for him to decide. I cannot compel him. I cannot use force.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No settlement with evil; certainly not with evil.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: But what I am saying is this, that there has been systematic adoption of violence by the Government. What violence can we commit? What force can we think of?

Shri Raj Bahadur: Is petting of stones non-violence?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: By whom? By the bullocks? Bulls? You refer to that bull story. Dr. Kailas Nath and the bull made a perfect combination, and the story came out that the bulls had come into it. (*An Hon. Member*: You brought the bulls.) We brought the bulls? Is there any evidence? Where can we bring the bulls from? There is no question of stone throwing. If there was stone throwing it was done by *agents provocateurs*.

Shri Raj Bahadur: Hence is the evidence. Has the hon. Member seen the bandaged forehead of the hon. lady Member over there?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Of course, you want evidence! That distinguished lady, the report in the papers says, got it from lathi charge by the police.

I cannot say who has done it. None of the Members of the House was present there. I have read in the papers that this was due to a lathi charge by the police.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is wrong. The hon. Member gets his facts from very peculiar sources; that is why he is wrong.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Unfortunately, the Police and the C.I.D. are not at my disposal; so I cannot get facts from the Police. So, I say, with regard to every matter, let there be an enquiry. Let an enquiry take place. I am prepared to accept the findings of an impartial tribunal. I do not say that all the allegations that have been made are true. Some of them may be exaggerated. I was not present on every occasion. Therefore, the only way by which we can ascertain the truth is through an impartial investigation. If that investigation shows that there has been violence by our men, undoubtedly we will have to accept responsibility. But so far as commitment of violence on previous occasions was concerned, it was by the crowds, not by the peaceful *satyagrahis*. But, as I say, the Prime Minister can have it verified. A number of people have been beaten and sent to Yole camp. One of them, a distinguished man, was beaten in a merciless manner and when I met him in the jail he showed us the mark on the body. Who committed those injuries on the bodies of these individuals? Who were the people who have done it? (*Interruption*)

Now, it is quite possible for the hon. Members to say that we have beaten the crowds, we have beaten Congressmen and we have beaten ourselves. That, of course, is an argument which the hon. Members belonging to the majority party can advance. But that is an argument which will only please them; it will not convince the rest of the world.

I am sorry, the Prime Minister spoke in that strain. I am genuinely and sincerely anxious that we should be able to sit round the table and find a way out of this.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: It is all right. If it is your verdict, if the Government says that there can be no question of talk, there can be no question of negotiation and you will rule only by force, you will rule only by repression, I can say this, that will fail: that can never succeed. It can never succeed, because it has already aroused feelings. The purpose for which the agitation is going on has already aroused deep sympathy in the minds of people, not belonging to our creed alone.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I know it has not aroused any sympathy in the minds of any people who are interrupting me. What is the use of hon. Members interrupting me? I do not expect any sympathy from that quarter. When I say we have got sympathy from people......

An Hon. Member: From which quarter?

An Hon. Member: From Pakistan!

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Of course, the hon. Member who is quoting Pakistan has left his seat there and has gone there. He has made Pakistan for himself there.

Now, so far as this point is concerned, if the Prime Minister says that his only weapon is force, his only weapon is repression, then it continues—let it continue. Of course, we are prepared to suffer the consequences. But whatever provocation may come from his side, however much he may lose his temper and threaten us, I can assure him that our instruction has been from the very beginning, is today, and will be till the last, that we shall not commit violence, that it must not take a communal turn, because I know they are most anxious that it takes a communal turn.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Of course they are anxious. Otherwise, his whole theory goes. The biggest thing he does today is to find out communalism where it does not exist, thereby creating communalism in this country. Wherever he goes, whenever he has to hide his own inefficiency, his incapacity to deal with the vital problems facing this country, there is one thing—communalism, communalism—whereas he knows in his heart of hearts that so far as surrender to the worst type of communalism is concerned none is guilty in India today more than he is. There can be no question about that, but he will not think about it. I would appeal to him that it is not a question of our talking about the past. We love the country as much as they do. We want the good of this country.

An Hon. Member: You do not.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Well, if the hon. Member says that we do not love the country, he discloses his own perverted mind. If that is your theory, let it be so. But we are not prepared to accept that position. There may be honest difference of opinion. In all these matters, where it concerns the vital rights of the people, the liberties of the people, where a section of the people have put forward certain demands, which according to my humble opinion are capable of adjustment through negotiations, they must be carefully considered. That is the tragedy of the situation. In one day's time we can settle this, if all of us, view it not from a particular angle of vision, but from the interest of Jammu and Kashmir, of India as a whole. If

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we proceed to examine the matter from that point of view there is no difficulty.

I make this offer in spite of these interruptions, in spite of the Prime Minister losing his temper. Whatever he may say, at any time if he feels that this matter could be settled, we can coolly sit together and settle it. I am not saying that it should be settled by arbitration, but you should take steps which will remove the main causes of fear and suspicion, which will create peaceful conditions, so that democracy may thrive. If that is so, at any moment he will only have to make a decision and our co-operation will be at his disposal. If on the other hand he feels that he can go on as he likes and only utilise force, he may do so and be responsible for the consequences.

Today section 144 is being applied. The Prime Minister was in Meerut three days ago and he made a terrific speech, even probing into our intentions. I do not know how he entered into my heart. He has probed into our intentions and has said a lot of things. I wanted to go to Meerut day after tomorrow. Today I have been informed that I can go there, provided I do not speak anything about Jammu and Kashmir. You are talking of democracy! What is democracy?—that all those who support Government policy will be allowed to go and make speeches and anyone who opposes Government policy will be gagged and will not be permitted to open his mouth. You call it democracy! You think that this democracy will continue in this country? We are asking that democracy may be really established, that there may be give and take exchange of views. But if Government considers that by reason of the majority that it commands, today, it is going to force its will on the people of this country, it will not work, it will not work, it will not work. Do not bring disaster to the country by following old British methods.

I tell the hon. the Prime Minister and the Government that these matters we should consider dispassionately on their merits. I am not infallible: I am not saying that we have not committed any mistakes. Mistakes might have been committed. But we must trust each other. The question is not one of motives. But we must sit quietly and try to solve this problem. The Prime Minister says that a peculiar situation has come which is not only imperilling the interests of this country, but may jeopardise the international situation. So, you cannot just overlook the position. My offer is let us sit round the table and discuss the matter and try to arrive at a settlement which will be fair and honourable to all. The answer is for the Prime Minister to give.

Shri B. Shiva Rao (South Kanara—South): In the very limited time that I propose to take I shall deal with only two or three points. When I first read the terms of the motion which was put down by my hon. friend Dr. Mookerjee, it was not clear to me—and judging from the speech which my hon. friend has just delivered, I think it was equally not clear to him—what the precise scope of the motion is which he wants the House to debate this afternoon; because, the situation arising out of Jammu may mean many things to many people. In an attempt to solve my perplexity, I read the pamphlet which has just been published and to which my hon. friend made a reference—a pamphlet which contains the correspondence which took place between him and the Prime Minister and also with Sheikh Abdullah. I do not know how many Members of this House have read that pamphlet. But I found in it a good deal of light in respect of the standpoints which the Prime Minister and my hon. friend Dr. Mookerjee take in regard to the Kashmir dispute.

My hon. friend is impatient that no solution has yet been found for this dispute. May I say that he is not the only one who is unhappy about it? I think everyone in this House is impatient for a satisfactory solution of this dispute. But I would add, if I may say so, that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in his impatience, as is only too clear from the terms which he has used in his various letters to the Prime Minister, has yielded to despair and to a spirit of defeatism, and he has urged the Prime Minister to adopt courses which can bring neither India nor Kashmir any good but only disaster in the end.

I said a moment ago that we are not the only people who want a solution of the Kashmir dispute which is now before the Security Council; there are others, outside this House and outside this country, who are equally impatient to seek a solution, a quick solution. My hon. friend said in the course of his speech with some warmth: Am I trying to help the enemy by trying to suggest that certain courses be adopted by the Prime Minister? I venture to suggest to my friend, with all respect to him, that perhaps he is helping not exactly the enemy, but he is helping, unconsciously, some Powers who are not particularly our friends in regard to the Kashmir dispute. At a meeting of the Security Council—I think it was in November of last year—Britain and the United States jointly sponsored a resolution for a very quick solution of the Kashmir dispute. And the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government, authorised the Leader of the Indian Delegation who presented the Indian case before the Security Council, to reject the terms of that resolution politely but firmly. These Powers look at the Kashmir dispute, not as we see it but somewhat differently. Last week, when the estimates of the External Affairs Ministry were under debate, I devoted a good deal of my time to analysing the implications of the establishment of a Defence Organisation known as N.A.T.O. I read out certain passages from a book which has recently been published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and for which a group of distinguished British authors was responsible. There is one other revealing passage in that book which refers to the Kashmir dispute, and which may be of interest to the House and also to my hon. friend opposite. Discussing the problems of Asia these writers say:

> "Pakistan's military strength is pinned down by the Kashmir quarrel; and engrossed in rivalry with India she cannot play the leading role in the Muslim world to which her population and position may seem to entitle her. Neither India nor Pakistani forces can be counted on to join the Commonwealth forces for the defence of the Middle East so long as the Kashmir problem remains unsettled. And even if it were settled, it is by no means certain how extensive would be the military co-operation offered to the Commonwealth from Karachi."

I shall read one more sentence from this book which also throws additional light on the point of view of some of these Powers which are working so hard in the Security Council to obtain a quick solution of the Kashmir problem:

> "The position taken up by India towards the cold war and her dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir are serious embarrassments to Britain's Atlantic policy."

Britain and the United States and some of the other Powers are anxious, for their own reasons, to see this dispute settled as soon as possible. But in that anxiety they overlook certain vital points in regard to this dispute, just as from another standpoint, I venture to suggest, my hon. friend opposite too overlooks certain vital points in regard to this very dispute. And may I say that the Prime Minister is absolutely right in refusing to be stampeded into a hurried or an unwise decision by yielding to pressure tactics, whether they are from one extreme outside India or from another extreme inside India?

Apart from the merits of this dispute, is it wise. I ask, with all respect to my hon. friend, is it wise when this dispute has reached a somewhat critical stage before the Security Council and the United Nations, when wisdom dictates that we should all join together in support of the Prime Minister's policy, that we should confuse the issues and divide the forces inside?

My hon. friend spoke very eloquently about the peaceful nature of the movement which has been inaugurated by the three organisations which he mentioned. May I ask him, if he reads the newspapers, how is this agitation maintained and sustained in Delhi? Many colleagues of mine in this House and in the other House have been, during the last several days, visiting different *mohallas* in Delhi City and obtained not only valuable contacts but valuable information; and they have come back, all of them, with reports that the movement is languishing in Delhi itself for want of local support.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Then it is solved!

Shri B. Shiva Rao: No. You are trying to find a remedy for it. Groups of volunteers have been pouring into Delhi from various centres in U.P., Rajasthan and Madhyabharat, particularly from Lucknow, Kanpur, Sitapur, Kheri, Faizabad, Meerut, Allahabad, Dehra Dun and Gonda.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is part of the scheme.

Shri B. Shiva Rao: That is a part of your scheme. And my hon. friend has been further afield during the past few days; he has visited Bombay, Bangalore and Calcutta. And there are other centres which are providing recruits for this peaceful agitation, from Indore and Gwalior, from Patna and Gaya in Bihar, from Hissar and Rohtak in Punjab, and from PEPSU. And I am told—I have not had any verification for this report—but I am told there is a transit camp in Ghaziabad where these recruits

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can refresh themselves before they enter the City of Delhi.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is not correct.

Shri B. Shiva Rao: I am told Punjab has been divided into two zones, Rohtak and Jullundur; Rohtak to feed Delhi with volunteers and Jullundur for sending volunteers to Pathankot. Probably even this outside support would begin to languish, as local support has languished, if the truth were known in these far off places.

And here I come to the writings in a section of the Delhi Press. And I say it with a good deal of humiliation and regret as a newspaper man myself. From time to time a section of the Press in Delhi seems over-powered by a wave of hysterical violence and fanaticism. We saw one outburst of it in January 1948 which culminated in the murder of the Father of the Nation. And today, at any rate during the last few weeks, we have witnessed a similar outburst on the part of a section of the Delhi Press. I know there are many honourable exceptions. Some papers, Urdu papers particularly, with large circulations, I regret to say, have been publishing alarming and provocative headlines. I will give the House just a few examples of the kind of headlines that are published. There is one paper—edited the 10th of March—which says "Police resort to lathi charge, over half a lakh persons involved, without giving them any warning. Tear gas used ruthlessly". Another paper says "Peaceful *satyagrahis* lathi charged several times in Delhi".

An Hon. Member: A fact, Sir.

Shri B. Shiva Rao: "Police gives severe beatings to several persons after forcing them out of their shops". I have batches of headlines. After that some very leading Urdu papers say...

Shri Algu Rai Shastri (Azamgarh Distt.—East *cum* Ballia Distt.—West): Have they large circulation?

Shri B. Shiva Rao: I am afraid they have substantial circulations. Another headline: "Some disgraceful examples of heart-rending atrocities on peaceful *satyagrahis* in Delhi" and so on. "A Muslim Superintendent of Police has been directly responsible" for many of these so-called police atrocities! Not only have they been giving provocative and inflammatory headlines featuring this news on their front page ignoring news of world significance, but they have also been writing in their editorials in a similar strain. I will give the House only two or three examples to indicate the type of writing.

This is a passage from the editorial of one newspaper:

> "Today the police resorted to a very severe and ruthless lathi charge under the command of D.S.P."

and they give the name of the Muslim D.S.P. who has recently been brought to Delhi from U.P.

> "Tear gas was used against 60,000 people for full one hour and further lathi charge was made all of a sudden under the orders of the same D.S.P.".

I will read one more passage to indicate the kind of writing in these papers. "Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee wanted to settle the Jan Sangh dispute by peaceful negotiations but Pandit Nehru's dictatorial attitude stands in the way. Sheikh Abdullah too refuses to have any talk with the R.S.S. as, in his opinion, the hands of this organisation are stained with the blood of the Muslims."

I do not want to give more advertisement to these newspapers by reading more of these samples of violent and unbalanced writings. I shall now conclude by referring to one or two passages in one of the several letters that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee wrote to the Prime Minister. He put down several points for consideration. After Pandit Prem Nath Dogra had been released, this is what Dr. Mookerjee says:

> "Naturally I cannot commit the Praja Parishad but knowing as I do their minds to some extent, I can make some suggestions to you for your consideration".

And then follows a number of suggestions which must be accepted by the Government of India and the Government of Kashmir. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has also suggested in one of his letters that the withdrawal of this movement of *satyagraha*, as he calls it, should be followed by a conference with not only the agenda prescribed before the withdrawal of the movement, but even certain tentative decisions to which the Government must give effect.

I will not take more time of the House but I think it is important, indeed it is a matter of fundamental importance, that the Prime Minister's interpretation of the basic attitude which Dr. Mookerjee has adopted throughout his correspondence should be placed on record. The Prime Minister said in one of his letters:

> "In effect this agitation challenges the authority and supremacy of our Parliament in a vital matter. It also seeks to interfere in international affairs which have far-reaching consequences. I am indeed surprised that you should expect me or our Government to countenance any such attempt which strikes at the root of democratic Government and accepted canons of policy."

And the Prime Minister goes on to conclude:

> "The larger good of India as well as the people of Jammu and Kashmir State with which we have been entrusted is more important than the wishes of a group of persons who could only think in a narrow and bigoted way and who do not hesitate to do deep injury to India's well-being for the sake of some fancied group advantage."

I would like to make one comment: no Prime Minister and no Government, whether it is the Congress Government or any other Government, can afford to abdicate its authority in response to the defiance of a group which persists in breaking the laws of the country.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): A little while ago, I rose in my seat to vote in favour of a motion which wanted a Government enquiry into the arrest and detention of certain leaders of the movement whose activities we are discussing at the moment but I have no hesitation in saying that as far as the Jammu agitation is concerned, it is a basically reactionary and an actively counter-revolutionary movement which it is the duty of every patriotic citizen of this country to counter. I know—I hear laughter from a certain section of the House—there is no love lost between us and the ruling party. I know that even today, a Congress Chief Minister from the Punjab of all places, a gentleman who goes by the name of Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, said on the 23rd March at Ambala that "the real fight today is not between the Congress and the Praja Parishad, Hindu Mahasabha or the R.S.S. but between India and the Communists". I make a present of it to the Prime Minister. In fact, there are in the ranks of the Congress today people in very high positions—perhaps also in the Cabinet of this country—who have a very soft corner in their hearts for what is going on under the aegis of my honourable and formidable friend to the left. I know it is a fact......

An Hon. Member: In the present Cabinet?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee:......and I want the Government of India to come forward—Yes. I have my suspicions about some in the present Cabinet—the Government of my country should come forward and say that as far as this particular agitation is concerned, they are going to see that its nefarious activities are not permitted to continue. I say this because when I first heard Dr. Mookerjee speaking, he began as if he was throwing out a sort of compromise suggestion; he said he had only lent "moral support" to this movement and then he said that throughout the agitation and even now he was anxious for a settlement. He ended also on a note which suggested that he was anxious for a settlement. I do not quite know how to read his mind. I am not very familiar with the workings of his kind of mind. I do not understand how he could go to Calcutta and make the kind of speech which was referred to by Mr. Shiva Rao just now. I have got a cutting here. I also belong to Calcutta. He went to Calcutta, to my constituency, and he made a speech which was reported in the Calcutta edition of the Amrita Bazar Patrika of the 23rd of this month. There he said that he wants people from all over the country to join this movement and go to Delhi. The slogan was raised at a meeting in Calcutta in Wellington Square, *Delhi Chalo*, let us go to Delhi. I am as proud a Bengalee as any other. But, I hate Bengalee patriotism being exploited and mutilated in this way.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I did not exploit.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: These are the words. I am quoting from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* report of what Dr. Mookerjee said. This is a paper which boosts Dr. Mookerjee.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Not at all now.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: He said:

> "This demand should receive popular support from all over India. It should not be treated as a movement of a section of people, and all patriotic citizens irrespective of party and religion must assist in developing it into an all-India movement. He announced that people from different parts of the country expressed their readiness to go to Delhi and take part

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in the *satyagraha* and hoped that Bengalees who were always in the forefront of any national movement would take their part in it."

It was a 12-year-old lad who got up first in the meeting and said, "I am a volunteer for this movement". This is the kind of thing that stinks in our nostrils; it nauseates. He is trying here and now to get up an all-India agitation over this issue.

I shall refer to another matter which, to my mind, is equally poisonous. I was reading in the papers a letter by an hon. Member of this House, whom I do not see here now—I do not know for what reason—to another hon. Member who is here, who is the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, saying that perhaps they could call off this movement. He gives the reason for it. And what is the reason? In Pakistan, he says, there is a slogan for *jehad*. They are going to fight India. And so, he suggests, they might call off this movement. Look at the dangerous character of the game which these people are playing: keep up the war psychosis between India and Pakistan, tell the Indian people that in Pakistan they are talking of war with India and only on that issue, these friends are magnanimously coming forward to withdraw the movement. This kind of suggestion shows how there are wolves in sheep's clothing: and they talk about the non-violent character of the *satyagraha* and their agitation! These are the people who flourish on the maintenance of a communal atmosphere in the country. Their occupation will be gone the moment our people can really rise to the full stature of their being, the moment they can see how irrelevant and how subordinate is the communal canker which they are utilising for purposes of their own political advancement.

If I am told that I may be exaggerating, here is a booklet which I just specially wanted to bring to this House. It was sent to us by Dr. Mookerjee's own people. It is not a Government publication, extracts from which were read out by Mr. Shiva Rao. I have also got a copy of that. I brought this because it is Dr. Mookerjee's own thing. On page 63 of the document called, *Integrate Kashmir*, I have a list of the demands of the Praja Parishad movement, on the basis of which Dr. Mookerjee wanted the Prime Minister to have an agreement. Items I to IX: there is not a single reference to the living conditions of the people of Kashmir; there is not a single reference to the land reforms question. On the contrary, there is a reference to the constitutional provisions; there is reference to the effective enforcement of the Indian Constitution in Kashmir, which means that the compensation clause would apply, which means that the land reforms already there would not be implemented. There is not a word about the real living demands of the people of Kashmir; nothing about employment which has to be found for the unemployed soldiers in Kashmir; not a word about the bureaucratic way in which the agents of this Government are trying half-heartedly to implement the niggardly, inadequate land reforms which have been instituted there. There is not a word about Dogri, nor a claim that the Dogra people are entitled to use their own language and that against their will Urdu should not be imposed on them. There is not a word against the Maharaja and the tribe of Rajpramukhs on whose favours they seem to thrive and flourish throughout the country. There is not a word about the real live problems of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Wherever it may be, they have nothing at all to do with the living conditions of the people of the country. This is why their movement has fallen flat. I can say, with a full sense of the facts that their movement does not appeal to the people. It is only in so far as they can poison and inflame communal passions that they can have a movement of any sort. That is why they are trying all sorts of subterfuges to have a movement of this kind. This is a thing of which the Government have to take note.

This is the point of view from which I would like the Government to tackle this problem: not merely to say that we are not going to do a thing about the people's real grievances. I quite understand the Prime Minister saying, "I will have a Round Table Conference with you". I understand that. But, I do want to tell this to Dr. Mookerjee, if he is at all conscious of his responsibility, about which sometimes he mouths glib phrases—he often says he is a responsible person and the likes of us on these benches are mischievous characters from the streets. If he is at all serious, why does he not unconditionally withdraw the movement? He knows he is in a position to deliver the goods if he wishes to do so. After having unconditionally withdrawn the movement, why cannot he, or anybody else for that matter, have a discussion regarding the live problems which the people of Jammu might have, which the people of Kashmir might have? There are so many things about which, we know, the people want to agitate their grievances. He does not do it. He is not interested. He wants to keep it up. That is why he went to Bombay as he went to Calcutta and he had a Press conference.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: No Press conference at Calcutta.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: There he said we do not want another Pakistan in Bharat, referring to Kashmir. This is wonderful. In regard to Kashmir we had a discussion last year; we have occasionally discussions about Kashmir. Kashmir is in a very special position for certain very concrete, historical reasons. We all know that. If we wanted to dub Kashmir as Pakistan in India because Kashmir is indubitably a Muslim majority State, what is the kind of mentality that we are encouraging to develop in the mind of our people here? Why should we tolerate this kind of hate? Why should we allow these people to keep the minority in India and the minority in Pakistan in the tenterhooks of agony? That is the exact purpose and object of these people. Why should we allow these people to keep Kashmir as a running sore, a perpetual apple of discord, a factor for continuing the war pychosis between India and Pakistan, so that at another level this Kashmir question might continue to be utilised and exploited by these Anglo-American worthies who sit in the Security Council?

I know that he does make from time to time reasonable suggestions. Let us consider those suggestions. Let the Prime Minister come forward, for example, and consider very seriously, and not merely dismiss it as an airy ejaculation, the question of the withdrawal of the Kashmir case from the United Nations. This is a matter about which we expect the Prime Minister to give some really serious thought. Let him also come forward and say that there are certain grievances of the people of Jammu and Kashmir relative to their living conditions about which he is shortly going to have a real investigation. Let him come forward and say at the same time that he is not going to tolerate any nonsense about this flag question, about the Constitution question, about the Rajpramukh question, which are the very foundations of the movement which is led by Dr. Mookerjee.

I also say this. I would expect Dr. Mookerjee, if he has an iota of responsibility, to say, "I withdraw the movement unconditionally." He can get my hon. friends over there who may be laughing as I speak, to agree to withdraw this movement. Actually sometimes I have a feeling that possibly they have bitten off much more than they can chew. If these people were prepared to come forward and say, we withdraw the movement, and if the Government puts forward certain suggestions and approaches the problem, not in a huff or temper, but say, we shall go into the real grievances relative to the living conditions of the people, as far as Jammu and Kashmir are concerned, I am sure, the whole thing can be settled.

I would add, as far as this movement is concerned, Government should give no quarter to this kind of communal counter-revolutionary movement. There should be no shilly-shallying over the implementation of the land reforms. Today, in the papers I read about the evidence given before the Wazir Commission by a Parliamentary Secretary of the Kashmir Government, who says that many bureaucratic mistakes are being committed and there are many lacunae as far as the land reforms are concerned. Let there be no shilly-shallying as far as land reforms are concerned. Let there be no truck with outmoded bureaucratic methods as regards the treatment of the common people. Let there be provision for popular peasant co-operation in the implementation of the land reforms, and let there be a serious effort to mobilise the democratic progressive forces, for whatever they are worth, that we have got in our country, in Kashmir and elsewhere, and then we shall be able to throw into the dust bin of history those absolutely reactionary forces which, I am sorry to say, my hon. friend on the left represents.

7 P.M.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): I am amazed at the unholy alliance between the Congress and the Communists. I do not know whether I shall congratulate the Prime Minister or offer my condolences.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: Sometimes, you yourself have alliances with those people.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Honestly, there is a complete, persistent, cruel, malignant misunderstanding of this movement. I say so with a full sense of responsibility. Why have we started this? I am not going into details, but, I think, I owe it to the House and hon. colleagues here to explain why a responsible citizen should start a movement like this. I take the House into the fullest confidence, and I am

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perfectly candid. With the fullest sense of candour and responsibility I say we thought that the people of Jammu, our unfortunate brothers and sisters who are being oppressed and tortured, who have been subjected to a reign of terror and ruthlessness (*Interruption*).

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: That is my honest conviction, and we can prove it to the hilt—not by shouting they can stop the voice of truth. By a campaign of misrepresentation, you can befog the people for some time, but you cannot convert untruth into truth by merely shouts and propaganda.

What is the offence that these poor, tortured brothers and sisters of Jammu have committed? (*Interruption*). What is the crime they have committed? Please do not laugh at this serious matter.

Here is a printed memorandum which the President of the Praja Parishad of Jammu submitted to the Rashtrapati, the President of India. The first sentence is:

> "The people of Jammu are particularly anxious to ensure their State becomes firmly and finally a permanent unit of the Indian Union, and they are prepared to pay any price for it."

That is their demand—"for Heaven's sake, do not keep us on tenterhooks". The Prime Minister of India, rightly or wrongly, has sent the matter to the U.N.O. The U.N.O. is playing with it. There is an offer of plebiscite. Do you not realise, have you not got the sense to appreciate that so long as that plebiscite is there, naturally these poor people are labouring under a justifiable apprehension as to their future? They, as sons and daughters of Mother India say: "Whatever may happen, let there be no consignment of us into perdition, into hell". They hate Pakistan. What is the good of the Prime Minister standing up and saying: "You people are friends of Pakistan and enemies of India"? That is absolutely an unfounded charge. His ranting is based on moonshine. They are saying, we are saying: "For Heaven's sake, withdraw this Kashmir issue from the U.N.O. and if you have got courage, if you have got patriotism, if you have got sincerity, if you have got strength, take away that portion of Kashmir which the Pakistanis have illegally, unlawfully trespassed into and occupied". That is our stand. That is what the Jammu people want. Instead of discussing with them and trying to appreciate their demand, what is happening there? A reign of terror has been let loose.

Why are people facing lathi-charges and bullets there? It is not our movement. They have started the movement three months ago. During these three months they have been facing lathi-charges; they have been facing firings; they have been facing bullets. What for? Two thousand people went to jail. Men and women are suffering all sorts of indignities and torture and cruel repression. What for?—because, they want integration, complete, unconditional and irrevocable accession with India. Is that a crime? Is that communalism? Now, my friend Mr. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee stands up and says: "These are reactionary communal forces operating". What is the communalism there? They are fighting for integration and the establishment of the citizenship rights which you people enjoy here. When the Supreme Court released me and Dr. Mookerjee, our Kashmir friends came to congratulate us. We said: "Now, we realise, my brothers, why they do not want the Supreme Court's jurisdiction to be extended to Kashmir". There are hundreds of people there who are kept behind prison bars, not for days, not for weeks, but for months. Responsible men have been denied all liberty; no charge, no trial, no accusation, no opportunity of vindicating themselves, no opportunity or chance of proving their innocence—and they have been kept there in jail for months and months. They want the same Fundamental Rights which Indian citizens enjoy. It is an absolutely wicked untruth which the Communist Member says, that we are supporting them because we want the Rajpramukh to come back. Nothing of the kind. Our grievance was: you have kept the Nizam as Rajpramukh, and you have weeded out this man; that is not fair. We have pointed out that was unfair, but nobody wants the Rajpramukh to be back. Nobody wants it. What we say is this: that their essential civil liberties have been denied, there is cruel suppression, and basic human rights have been denied to these people. There is no democracy really functioning, and they, therefore, are perfectly justified in demanding the application of the Indian Constitution. They say: "Give us the Fundamental Rights". What is wrong there? Instead of giving them that, you are talking of false charges of communalism. This is a bogie you are raising—a false bogie, a misleading charge.

Mr. Shiva Rao says we are impatient. No, the electorate is impatient with your policy of vacillation and drift. (*An Hon. Member*: Question). Therefore, election after election is going against them, and they know it, and therefore they are impatient, they are unhappy, they are carrying on this so-called anti-communal propaganda. Is this democracy or a mockery of democracy? You do not allow one Member of Parliament to go to Lucknow and put forth his standpoint. You do not allow a Member of Parliament to go to Punjab and make his standpoint clear. But you invite the stooges and flunkies and toadies of Sheikh Abdullah and allow them to propagate their views in Punjab and in other parts of India. Is this democracy? You have been committing violence. Government has committed organized violence on our people which is unworthy of any civilized Government. A Member said: "We are not going to express any sorrow or regret at the detention of M.P's. It is not we, Members of Parliament are concerned—it is a question of denial of Fundamental Rights and of basic human rights which we have incorporated in the Constitution. And not only that. You have written a false document in order to dress up the case that there has been a compliance with the demands of Fundamental Rights. That is what has been done.

What they are demanding is this—I told Sheikh Abdulla myself, when I had the privilege of discussing the matter with him: "Why do you not accept the Fundamental Rights?". The difficulty was only the clause regarding land-holding. We are perfectly prepared, the Praja Parishad is prepared, to make some reasonable compromise with regard to that. We are not saying: "bring back the old feudal regime there". We are not saying that. We are saying that the fundamental basic right which is enjoyed by over 32 crores of human beings in this country should be conceded to them. What is the Fundamental Right?—Freedom of speech and freedom of expression. You know that pre-censorship, or banning of newspapers is illegal in India. But so many newspapers are banned in Kashmir. The Opposition Press is gagged. No independent Press is allowed to function. The anti-Abdullah Press is gagged and smothered. Their demand is: "For Heaven's sake, at least give us these things, freedom of speech and expression and other freedoms which you people enjoy. Give us these freedoms".

It is a wicked misrepresentation to say that the demand for Fundamental Right is to instal the Rajpramukh back. It is a perversion of our stand. Who in his senses can say that we want to get the Maharaja back, if once you give them the Fundamental Rights? They are perfectly prepared, and we are also perfectly prepared not to demand the Maharaja back. I myself assured Sheikh Abdullah 'For Heaven's sake, finalise the Fundamental Rights, barring those things to which you object'. He said 'I will do that'. We are not asking the Prime Minister to do anything against the declared wishes of Parliament. Is it the declared wish of Parliament that the Fundamental Rights will be enjoyed by everybody except the brothers and sisters of Jammu? Is it the declared wish of Parliament that there should be financial integration with every State, but not with the State of Jammu and Kashmir? Is it the declared will of Parliament that the Supreme Court shall be the final tribunal for the enforcement and vindication of basic human rights for each and every citizen in India, excepting these poor people of Jammu and Kashmir? Is that the declared will of Parliament? Parliament has never said that. Our charge was this that the Prime Minister has allowed his friendship for Sheikh Abdullah or his weakness for Sheikh Abdullah to be exploited by him. He has not compelled him to play the game. Sheikh Abdullah has implemented only those parts of the July Agreement with the Prime Minister, that suited him. He abolished the Rajpramukh. He drove out the Maharaja, and had a Sadar-i-Riyasat, and his flag. He has got what he wanted. But what about the other things? What about the Supreme Court? What about financial integration? What about the other Fundamental Rights? Why have they not been implemented? I asked the Prime Minister, I think, towards the end of November, 'Has Sheikh Abdullah's Government implemented the other things?' I got the reply 'No'. and the charge was made that our movement was responsible for the non-implementation of the Prime Ministers' Agreement. It is not a fair charge. It is an unfair charge, an untrue charge. What had he been doing for the last six months? He has not implemented anything, excepting those parts which suited him and his vanity.

Now, can anybody stand up and say 'Never talk to the Praja Parishad leaders, never talk to those people who have been supporting them or have been lending them support'? Our movement is a non-violent peaceful movement for the purpose of focusing public attention on the reign of terror which was going on, on the ruthless repression which was going on in Jammu and Kashmir. You do not send any dispassionate observers there, only

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Sheikh Abdullah's men can go. Only those who are friendly to him can go there. But we cannot go there. Those Members of Parliament who are critical of his administration cannot go there. One commission was appointed consisting of the Members of the Legislature. But they were refused entry there. Why? Because there was something ugly there, which they could not possibly expose, and which they could not venture to place before the public eye. Therefore they did that. What we are saying is this. And I am saying it with the fullest sense of responsibility that I owe as my duty to my fellow-citizens of India. When lakhs and lakhs of my fellow-citizens are in danger in Jammu and Kashmir, when the Government of Sheikh Abdullah is pursuing a tragic policy of obduracy, when our Government are adopting a policy of indifference or vacillation, then it is our duty, when we are satisfied that their demand is just, fair and reasonable that we should do our best to focus public attention on this, and mobilise public opinion, so as to put pressure upon our Government and upon Sheikh Abdullah so that justice can be done to them. It is not a 'Quit India Movement' that we are having. We are not saying that you people should quit India. We are saying simply this. For Heaven's sake, try to understand us. Do not be misled by prejudices. Do not be misled by persistent propaganda. Do not think that there is anything communal, or selfish or sectarian or narrow. If this movement had been sectarian or narrow or communal, this would not have gone on in Jammu for so many months. I was most distressed to hear that there were daily and nightly raids on village after village in Jammu and there was molestation of men and women. It was very disgraceful. I wrote to the Prime Minister, on the 4th, before our movement started, that I was getting very distressing messages, and I sent him two telegrams. I wrote a letter on the 4th of March:

> "My dear Prime Minister,
>
> We are receiving distressing news from Jammu. It seems that repression is going on in full swing; people in authority are resorting to extreme methods. . ."

And I sent him two telegrams, which I received on that day, from the Jammu people, and I appealed to him to look into the matter. A very kind reply came on that very day, within a couple of hours, and he has written:

> "I am afraid that the messages that you are getting from Pathankot have little relation to facts. I have been getting messages, and invariably I enquire. The result of the inquiry does not bear out the message at all."

How can the Prime Minister who receives the letter at three o'clock or so, make an inquiry within a couple of hours, and write to me by five or six o'clock? How can he do it.

The Deputy Minister of Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): Science has advanced too far. (*Interruptions*).

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Are we Members of Parliament to be treated as children? It may be telepathy! are we nincompoops? I may tell you this is not the way to deal with people. I am sorry that men and women have been molested, and we are getting distressing reports. We wanted to put an end to this. We wanted that those ugly scenes which happened during the British regime should not happen in free and independent India. At that time the Britishers puffed up with power, and suffering from power intoxication told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the fighters of freedom, 'You people are traitors, we shall not have any Round Table Conference or any talks with you'. What is the good of Mr. Shiva Rao talking in that way? You will have to come down from your giddy heights. I am appealing to you, 'Do not play the role of Linlithgow, do not play the role of Hallet, and other British Imperialists'. You have got to come down from your heights. You have to shed your prestige. Shed your hauteur and settle this thing in a spirit of compromise. I think, with a little bit of forbearance, understanding, patience and charity, this thing can be settled, honorably, fairly, justly and with benefit to both Kashmir and India, and also to the lasting benefit to the people of Jammu.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have been trying very hard at least to understand the point of view of some hon. Members opposite, the hon. Member who initiated this discussion, and the one who has just spoken. It is not for lack of trying, now or previously in the course of our correspondence, that I failed to understand that point of view. Indeed I came to the conclusion that there must be something radically different in our mental approaches to this or other problems. One can understand a difference. One can understand an opponent's viewpoint. But it is something deeper than that. It was a completely different way of thinking or mental approach or mental climate in which I live and the hon. Member lives, which made us inevitably—I suppose, to arrive at entirely different conclusions. Here is the hon. Member Mr. Chatterjee talking in melodramatic tones of what is happening in Jammu and elsewhere, and asking for our sympathy. Asking what? Just have a talk around a table. We will settle it in the course of discussion. It seems so simple. They are very simple demands! Non-communal! There is nothing communal about these demands. I can accept them; at any rate why not I give some indication of accepting them.

Now, what appears to the hon. Member so simple and so obvious appears to me a highly pernicious and malignant thing. I do not wish to use weaker words, because I think that the whole approach to this problem on the other side has been malignant—nothing short of it. I do not say it is deliberately malignant—not that. But it is a whole 'make-trick' and out of this a thing comes out; and comes out from time to time, occasionally in a semi-inoffensive way, occasionally in a nationalist way, occasionally in a way of advancing the culture of India, occasionally in this way or that way—to the better glory of India! But somehow in that 'make-trick' there is that poison which has injured us in the past many a time, which has brought down India, which has split India, which has led India to civil war, which has degraded India and which has humiliated India. And it comes out again and again. So I wonder in what century I live? Am I wrong? Have I no understanding of this era, of this middle of the 20th century when these things come to me from some medieval age—this way of thinking—in terms of 500 or 300 years ago? Are they right or am I right? There must be some mistake somewhere. Obviously I can hardly—try as I like—come to the conclusion that I am wrong and the other party is right. Naturally, I consider that it is more likely that I am right.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazaribagh West): No, no.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But there is this vital difference and I want this House to realise it. It is not a question of what I might call a superficial political difference of approach in the matter—one may have a different viewpoint here and there—but it is a vital thing which goes down to the very roots of things. When I say—the hon. Member may deny it—something about the communal approach, he says I have got communalism on the brain, and, I repeat it. Maybe—I do not say who is right—I have got it on the brain, but I am not afraid of that. Not in that sense; we have dealt with it in the last thirty or forty years adequately and repeatedly. But I am not afraid of this as I am not afraid of this particular movement or any other, from the governmental or from any other point of view. But what I am afraid of is this attempt, this repeated attempt, to rouse up certain passions in the people, to rouse up certain prejudices in the people, to play upon them, to exploit them in the name of the country, in the name of nationalism, in the name of various good things and thereby turn the country's mind or the minds of many people in an utterly wrong direction, in a dangerous direction, which not only stops progress, but, what is more than that, may bring great danger in its train. I have no desire to make the flesh of people creep. It is not necessary. But we can never forget what we have seen five years ago in the City of Delhi and other places round about. It is the identical approach that brought and may well bring about great disasters. We will overcome them, but it means a throw back, it means going back. Look at this matter. So simple—the integration of Kashmir. Now, who is against it? What have the Government—what have I, if I may in all modesty speak about myself, because I have been concerned with this Kashmir problem—wanted for the last five years and a half since the Kashmir problem came up? Surely this House and every one of us has wanted to finalise the Kashmir problem. Surely we have wanted to bring Kashmir into the closest association with India. Has there been any difference of opinion here? None. We have wanted to do that. Why then have we not succeeded? If you like, you may say 'You made this mistake or that mistake'. But surely the urge, the desire, the wish to do that is here. Something came in the way. Maybe a mistake. Something has come in the way all the time.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: How to get out of it?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How to get out of it? The hon. Member suggested that we get out of it by talking to the Praja Parishad people. That is an extraordinary suggestion.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is another piece of dramatic performance. I never said that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sitting round a table with the Praja Parishad leaders.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is not the solution.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): Withdraw from the U.N.O.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: Withdraw the movement.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have in the course of the last five years discussed the Kashmir issue on many occasions in this House. About nine months ago or less, we discussed it very fully—on the occasion of this agreement that we had with the Kashmir Government. And that agreement was, in a sense, ratified by this House. In the course of this session, twice we have discussed this matter at some length: first on the occasion of the President's Address, and secondly, when the External Affairs estimates were being discussed. So there has been no lack of discussion in this House in this matter. Because it has been an important matter—the whole Kashmir issue—we have tried to keep the House in touch with developments. And now after it has been discussed and after the House has agreed to a certain policy, I put it to the House for its consideration—because this point has troubled my mind—here is this matter, a policy which this House has decided definitely, deliberately—leave out even its international implications. How far any Members of this House are entitled—every Member is entitled to agitate for the change of that policy; I am not saying that—but how far they are entitled to encourage, participate in and make others break laws in regard to a policy, involving a change of policy which Parliament has approved of? I do not wish to pursue this thing, but it is something which the House should consider. It is an extraordinary position, as far as I can see—this approach to this matter.

Then, we discussed it only less than a month ago or two months ago. Repeatedly we discussed it. The House obviously knows. Therefore, in order to bring pressure on this House something is done in the City of Delhi, something is done in the town of Pathankot; and while the way it is done is another matter, I think it is rather a curious way, a rather fantastic way.

Hon. Members talk about people coming from Gorakhpur and elsewhere. What is more, they come with garlands in their pockets and come out on the streets as *satyagrahis;* nobody else garlands them. Is anything more artificial than what is happening in Delhi in the course of this Jan Sangh agitation? I cannot for a moment consider it in the shape of an agitation. It is completely artificial; it has no roots and I should like the House to consider this.

Take these matters over which Mr. Chatterjee grew so eloquent. Now just think about it—a mass agitation for Fundamental Rights. I can agree. The House may want them and I want them, but the urgency of Fundamental Rights becomes so much in Jammu and Kashmir that people perform *satyagraha,* 'We must have Fundamental Rights'. Now, I regret to say my own knowledge of the various forms of agitation and *satyagraha,* which may not be as great as Mr. Chatterjee's or Dr. Mookerjee's, has not led me to the conclusion that this type of thing can be called a mass agitation. They may have other reasons—that is a different matter—but here again some demands are made upon us and we are asked to discuss them. What are those demands? Hon. Members referred to one or two suggestions given in these letters and booklets circulated. Now, I put it to this House that some of those demands are such—I am a modest individual—that this Parliament cannot give effect to them, even if it so chose, for the very simple reason that this Parliament's writ does not run outside India. Obviously when you have to deal with an international question, well, then you have to deal with it either diplamatically or by war. There is no third way of dealing with an international question; either by friendly diplomacy or unfriendly diplomacy or by war. You do not pass a law in your Parliament to impress upon somebody outside your country, who refuses to acknowledge the authority of your Parliament. May I give you an example? Here is this woeful war going on in Korea. Great countries are involved in it and I have no doubt that every one of those countries would like it stopped. These great countries cannot stop it by passing a law in their Parliament or Congress. It is something beyond them. Even if they want to do it they cannot do it, however great or powerful they may be. It is beyond the authority of their Parliament to do that. Therefore, when a question becomes an international question like the Kashmir question, this Parliament can take many steps, of course, but it cannot solve the international part of it.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Is the Prime Minister suggesting that the accession of Kashmir to India is subject to the approval of some international body?

Is that the point he is developing? I cannot quite follow.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The accession of Kashmir to India, as the hon. Member knows, was in that sense complete, not subject to anything except subject to the goodwill of the people of Kashmir.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is a different matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a very important thing and by that declaration we are going to stand. It is left to their decision. The hon. Member also knows that this question has been before the Security Council. For the moment, let us leave out whether it was right or wrong to send it there. Now it is before an international forum and how can I or this Parliament take it away? Some may say that the question is already decided because we passed this law or resolution. It is beyond my understanding. I can take a succession of steps if you like, which steps should involve, first of all saying, no more Security Council, no more United Nations. If you are prepared to do that and take the consequences of it, we may do it. We may not do it because the consequences are very serious. The consequences are not the withdrawal of the Kashmir issue; it may be withdrawal possibly of India from the United Nations. You may be prepared for that if you realise the consequences, the very serious consequences......

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Does the Prime Minister suggest that the withdrawal of the Kashmir case from the United Nations means necessarily the withdrawal of India from the U.N.O.?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not say, necessarily. I said we have to take into consideration the possible developments. I do not say it necessarily means that; it may mean that or it may not mean that. It is not such a simple issue as you suppose it to be. It has got all kinds of consequences in regard to our relationship with a large number of countries and other nations. Any question which has far-reaching consequences is a complicated issue. It is an issue, which, with all the goodwill in the world, we cannot solve suddenly by our wishing to solve it. I repeat, here is a thing we want. We wanted for the last five years the Kashmir issue to be finalised, and finalised in a particular way. In that there is no difference of opinion. Now, what is the good of a person going to Chandni Chowk and doing some kind of so-called *satyagraha* for something that I have been trying to do for the last five years and have not been able to do?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Strengthen your hands.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Strengthen my hands!

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: God save you from such friends!

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So I do submit that nothing more in the way of agitations—both in regard to the objective aimed at and, if I may say so, to some extent, even the methods pursued—is really difficult for me to conceive.

Now, look at it from another way. If it is admitted that accession or no accession we are not going to hold on to Kashmir against the will of the people of Kashmir, it just does not matter whether there is accession or not. I make it perfectly clear that I am not going to hold on by force of arms against the wish of Kashmir. We are there because the people of Kashmir wanted us to be there, or a majority of them. If they do not want us, out we come, whether the accession is legally binding or is complete or incomplete. That follows naturally not from what we said there but from our liberal policy in such matters. Now, therefore, adopting a policy which weakens our position in the minds of the people of Kashmir, which is not for strengthening our hands or strengthening India's position anywhere outside India or inside India, is for you. It is patent that the policy of the Praja Parishad, as pursued there, weakens our cause nationally, and internationally, in Kashmir and everywhere. How to strengthen anybody's hands? It is as obvious a thing as you can have it.

Then again it has been proposed—nothing has been said about it at this moment—'Well, if not Kashmir, let Jammu become completely inter-related with India'. That obviously means that the Jammu and Kashmir State is disrupted. And we support this famous process of integration by disruption and by throwing away inevitably the rest of the State into somebody's laps. But a little logic will show that all these things lead to something which is entirely opposed to the so-called demands of the Praja Parishad or Jan Sangh. Every step that they are taking or have taken leads them away from India, away from the very things that they demand. That is why I say it is a most amazing agitation because, consciously or unconsciously they go on injuring the very cause they pretend to have at heart.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

Mr. Chatterjee referred to some telegrams he sent me and my reply; and he said that it was amazing how rapidly I have enquired into them in the course of two or three hours. Mr. Chatterjee will appreciate the rapidity with which I reply to letters from him.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: There I agree entirely.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What I wrote to him was this; that every day and sometimes twice a day the Praja Parishad representative at Pathankot sent me, and him as it appeared subsequently, telegrams. And in fact, his previous telegrams, every one of them, I have sent them there and made some enquiry. I do not say that I instituted a Commission presided over by a High Court Judge to enquire into them. I have made some enquiry and invariably I have found that those telegrams were an amazing concoction of things that had not happened, or exaggerations. It was astounding. Yes, these things were not even on sight at Pathankot—may be queer concoctions or rumours of some things that happened somewhere and not where he was. So, I point out to Mr. Chatterjee that I have enquired into these matters and have found most of them to be complete falsehoods and, I should like to say, lies. Because it is entirely beyond my possibilities to find out what is happening there. I have tried to keep in touch and I have tried to enquire and I have seldom come across a more amazing collection of concoctions of falsehoods and lies than are contained in some of the publications of the Praja Parishad and it is much more astonishing the way they pile up thick falsehood upon falsehood and if they get hold of an atom of truth they make a mountain of falsehood. These are repeated in some of the Delhi papers to which Mr. Shiva Rao referred here and really it is a matter of deep regret to me: the type of newspapers we are developing in this country, some of them, of the type specially of the Urdu newspapers in the Punjab and in Delhi, is a painful thing. Because, apart from a complete departure from veracity, the vulgarity of it, the indecency of it, the lowness of it amazes—this kind of thing, if it is published degrades their minds.

An hon. Member, who is not here, yesterday or the day before issued some kind of a statement—I have not seen it; but I have heard about it—saying that because of *jehad* in Pakistan or something, he should withdarw his movement. It is up to him and to his colleagues to withdraw it or not, but I would like to assure him and other hon. Members that there is no *jehad* in Pakistan at the present moment. There is no difficulty, and we are not worried about that in the slightest degree, so that that need not be considered in this particular connection. As a matter of fact, as the House knows, Pakistan is facing very severe troubles of its own—internal troubles; very grave difficulties. But *jehad* or no *jehad*, it is true that the activities of these organisations in Jammu which are carrying on this agitation have attracted a tremendous amount of attention and publicity in Pakistan It would have been much greater but for the fact of their own troubles suddenly coming to the front. Because, this is just the thing which—if I may say so—some of the minds in Pakistan fully understand. That is how their minds function. They understand it, and they like it, because it feeds their own bigotry. It does not matter what cloak it wears on either side. Here, the hon. Member says that it is not communal. He asks: what is there communal in asking for a greater integration of Jammu and Kashmir? There is nothing communal, but everything from A to Z behind this movement is communal—from the beginning. There is no doubt about it. The whole approach, the whole mentality and if I may say so, the whole past of the gentlemen behind it, are communal and their past is a witness, not only during a year or two, not only five years ago, but ten or twenty or thirty years ago, to the disruptive activities of these organisations. One of them is, of course, a new organisation.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): That charge is denied absolutely.

Shri V. G. Deshpande: Not one, but two.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I apologise. Two organisations have no past, no long past anyway.

The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi): Nor any future.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But the people belonging to them have a very long past.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: So have you also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: A wonderful past—Pakistan etc.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So that you need not worry about words or terms.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Nor remember the past.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Here is a definite approach to our political, a our social and to our economic problems and I have no doubt that what I consider—with apologies to the hon. Member opposite—the communal approach is a limited, narrow, bigoted approach. It is a reactionary approach. It is to some extent a revivalist approach, and I think that this movement of the Praja Parishad is a communal one. Every hon. Member must know that the Praja Parishad suddenly came into existence a short time ago, say, two or three years ago, when the R.S.S.S. or its branch in Kashmir was banned. The very same gentlemen suddenly became the Praja Parishad, so that you will appreciate that that does not change their background, or their way of thinking, or their way of functioning in the narrowest way. It is true and I am prepared to admit it, that other people in Jammu have no doubt economic and other grievances, which I hope are being enquired into. A committee has been appointed, and it has enquired into them, and I hope more will be done towards that end. These people have been exploited by this agitation. We should consider those matters no doubt, but if I am asked to discuss these high constitutional matters, international matters, with the Praja Parishad or any other Parishad like that, I regret I wholly and absolutely am unable to do so. I am unable to do so for a variety of reasons. Number one is that I cannot discuss these matters in this way, discuss international matters in this way, with any outside movement. Secondly, I am not prepared to discuss them with any organisation which has functioned in the way this organisation has functioned during the last three or four months. I think it has done a grave disservice to India and all those who have encouraged it have done and are doing a very grave disservice to India, to India's position internally, to India's position externally and internationally, and I am not prepared—I should be completely frank and speak with complete candour to this House—I am not prepared to do anything which adds to their prestige by one iota, because they will utilise that for future trouble. I am quite sure of it. If it is a question of struggle with them, well, it is a misfortune, but we have to face it and we shall face it. We are facing it and we will face it, because if that movement by any mischance gains any elements of success, it means a black night for India in the future. It means disaster and ruin for India. Therefore, we shall fight it with all our strength.

So, I would have this House to consider this matter in all its aspects, and not in the sense that this movement is strong enough to upset anything or create any grave results. I would like it to consider the mentality lying behind it, the way it is being carried on. I am not referring to the facts of the movement—how the whole thing, as I said, is completely artificial, and how people coming from elsewhere are carrying it on. Shopkeepers and others come to us and complain: can you not put an end to this mischief round about us? can we not lead our ordinary lives and do our business? They come to us, and everybody knows that the shopkeepers and most of the residents of Delhi have nothing to do with it and are entirely opposed to it. No doubt, some young boys come and shout slogans etc. and occasionally throw stones. But the whole conception of it, the whole purpose of it, is mischievous. Some people may be led away. They may not realise it. But there can be no doubt that this movement is harmful and mischievous, and it is because of that—and not because of any particular significance of this movement; it is because it comes under false colours; because it talks about nationalism; because it talks about high ideals; of the Supreme Court; of Fundamental Rights and so on—it is because of these things I say that the average person may be taken in by it. We have to explain this to them, and tell them that this movement has nothing to do with them. We shall consider the question of the Supreme Court or Fundamental Rights. Certainly. Kashmir—remember this carefully—has been in the course of the last five years a war area. We have fought our first war there, and even now it is a period of truce and we have not finished it. Even now, our troops stand sentry on the borders there. And there, where our troops remain within ten or fifteen miles of the border, the Praja Parishad goes, and does *satyagraha*. Just try to think of it. Just think of this idea of doing *satyagraha* on the cease-fire line, or almost on the cease-fire line. Can that be a *bona fide* thing to achieve any results? It is mischievous, I say. It is mischievous to go and make our troops

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and soldiers think, to infect them, to **make** them feel that there is something wrong with them and that the *satyagrahis* are sympathising with **them**. The whole thing is wrong [illegible]om **beginning** to end, and I hope that this House will therefore **fully** appreciate and, agree with the policy that the Government has been following in this matter.

The House then adjourned till two of the Clock on Thursday, the 26th March 1953.